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UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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RETROSPECT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE FOR 1847.

It must strike every observer of passing events, that there is no general question which occupies so large a portion of the attention of civilized and Christian men, as the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. It is, perhaps, not difficult to account for this. Every man, unbiased by prejudice or interest, instinctively ranges himself on the side of the enslaved and the oppressed. The common sense and common conscience of mankind are utterly opposed to slavery; and even among those who are educated under its blighting and baneful influence, we find many who rather endure the institution because of its alleged necessity, than cherish it on the ground of its supposed advantages.

The two last generations of men in Europe and America, have been taught to regard personal freedom as the inalienable right of every man, without distinction of race, clime, or colour; and this simple yet sublime doctrine has been the basis of all those mighty efforts which have been made by Christian philanthropists, and which, under the Divine blessing, has led to such marvellous results. It has put an end to the Danish, the Dutch, the British, the American, and the French-African slave-trade. It has delivered one half of the States of the great North American Republic and the whole of Mexico, from the curse of slavery. It has laid the foundation for the ultimate abolition of slavery in all the South American Republics. It has swept away every form of legalized bondage from the British Empire; and has planted the standard of freedom in Northern Africa.

A principle so potent for good is destined to achieve a universal triumph; we have therefore to record, from year to year, its steady progress; and, so far as we are permitted to look into the future, to say that it is laden with promises of deliverance to the degraded and enslaved portions of our race.

The events of a cheering nature which have transpired during the past year, are the final abolition of slavery in the Swedish Colony of St. Bartholomew. The number of slaves emancipated is comparatively few, probably not one thousand; yet the principle of the inviolability of human freedom has been acknowledged by a sovereign state; and a new example given to other Powers, who yet permit any portion of their subjects to bear the yoke of oppression, to go and do likewise. The King of Denmark, in conjunction with the States of his kingdom, has also decreed the abolition of slavery, though in the case of all slaves born before the 28th of July, 1847, the time of emancipation is delayed, to the corresponding date in the year 1859. In the meantime, all children born of slave parents are declared to be free. It is impossible to say how many slaves may then be alive to enjoy the blessing of liberty. The number estimated to be now in the Danish Colonies is about 25,000. To the honour of the Queen of Denmark, it must be recorded, that she has greatly assisted in bringing about this happy result. Nor whilst Christian princes have thus shown respect to the inherent rights of their fellow-men, have Mohammedan and Hindoo chiefs, been unwilling to recognise them also. The Rajpoot and other States in the East have abolished slavery and the slave-trade in their respective territories; and the kingdom of Lahore has issued decrees to the same effect, through the several provinces subjected to its sway.

Slavery is approaching the period of its complete extinction in Peru. By an article in its constitution, all children born of slaves since the year 1820, are declared free; and every slave im-

ported from a foreign State, is also declared free the moment he touches the soil of that country. The slaves in the State of New Granada, it is expected, will be completely emancipated on the 1st of January, 1850. In the meantime, every slave introduced into that Republic is declared to be free.

Such is a brief summary of the gratifying facts which have come to our knowledge during the past year: they show the progress of the anti-slavery cause; and cannot fail, we conceive, to excite in every mind sentiments of gratitude to God, that it hath pleased Him to dispose the hearts of so many to do justice to the poor and the oppressed.

We must now take a rapid glance at anti-slavery exertions during the past year. Our friends in the United States are using the greatest exertions to break down the hateful institution of slavery in the southern sections of their country, and to prevent its extension to any new region or territory that may hereafter be annexed to it. Besides the two leading Anti-Slavery Societies, there is the great Liberty Party, which is swelling its ranks every year with those who will vote only for an Anti-Slavery President. The several sections of abolitionists have about fifty newspapers in circulation, besides agents variously employed. They bring their influence to bear both on the State and on the Church, and manifestly with increasing success. Nor must we omit to mention, that a Free-labour Association has been formed at Philadelphia, for the purpose of promoting the use of free-produce only. These agencies are diffusing a healthful influence in the slave-states as well as the free. In the former, more than one paper devoted to abolition has been established, and the question of emancipation openly discussed. These signs of progress are cheering. May our friends be abundantly strengthened for the great work that is before them!

The Mexican war still continues to disgrace the United States; but the better class of American citizens are decidedly opposed to it, and to the nefarious object, the extension of slavery, for which it has been prosecuted.

The friends of the anti-slavery cause in France have never been more active and successful than during the past year; and we rejoice to know that, whilst they have innumerable difficulties to overcome, they are sure of success at no distant period. Four petitions from four different sources are now in course of signature throughout France, praying for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery: these efforts, coupled with the decisions of the law courts in favour of freedom, are striking the whole system of slavery to its very foundation. We shall look forward with intense interest to the discussions which must arise on the presentations of the petitions. Holland, we trust we may say, is not far behind. We regard the movements of our friends in that country with the deepest interest. In this country, as our friends are aware, the Anti-Slavery Society has great duties to fulfil, not only in regard to our own colonies, but to the general question of emancipation: and its Committee are earnestly and constantly devoted, both in their home and foreign operations, to secure the ends for which it was established. They ask, on behalf of the cause, increased sympathy and help.

We earnestly request our friends to avoid the error into which some have fallen, that but little remains for them to do. Let them remember that millions are still appealing to them for help. Let them remember that the slave-trader still pursues his guilty traffic; and that if we would not lose the fruits of past efforts, we must yet earnestly struggle that the slave-trade and slavery, in new forms, do not again spring up among ourselves.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

The two greatest events which have illustrated the history of this country, namely, the abolition of the Anglo-African slave-trade in 1807, and the emancipation of the slave population of the British Colonies in 1834, are regarded by the West Indians of the old school and their adherents, as the chief causes of the distress with which, according to their showing, they have been afflicted during the last forty years. They consider these two great acts of national justice, and the legislation consequent upon them, as so many wrongs, which ought to be redressed, and they are using their utmost endeavours to impress their opinions on the mother country.

At the close of the year 1846, the Jamaica House of Assembly agreed to a memorial to the Queen, in which they say:—

"The establishment of slavery in these colonies, was not our act, but that of the parent Government, the lands of Jamaica having been patented by your royal ancestors, on the special condition that they should be cultivated by slaves, for the promotion of the national wealth; and this policy was continued under sanction of British laws, equally sacred as those under which any other class of your Majesty's subjects held their property. It is unnecessary for us here, to enter into the history of the trade, by which those slaves were procured; it is enough to say, that, after having been most vigorously and profitably carried on for one hundred and fifty years, by British ships, British merchants, and British capital, it was abolished by Act of Parliament in the year one thousand eight hundred and seven. This was a check to the hitherto extending cultivation and prosperity of Jamaica."

After having discussed the additional wrongs inflicted on them, by the act of 1815 "for registering slaves, professedly to prevent their illegal introduction; but covertly to pave the way for subsequent emancipation;" and by Mr Canning's resolutions in 1823, which "conceded to out-door pressure the interest of the colonies, and the principle of slave emancipation," the Assembly go on to point out that still greater wrong, the act of emancipation itself, which went into force on the 1st of August, 1834. In referring to it, they observe:—

"In giving our sanction to the British Abolition Act, yet strongly feeling its injustice in the inadequate remuneration awarded for the property destroyed, and the ulterior injury which we too clearly foresaw must result from it, we addressed to our Sovereign a remonstrance against it in these words:—'By an Act of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, our local institutions have been superseded, the rights of property invaded, political immunities disregarded, and, consequently, all that is dear and sacred to man in his social character, placed in imminent danger. We have passed the law pressed upon us, without pledging ourselves for its success, without incurring any of its responsibilities; and while we, in the face of the nation, enter our solemn protest against the precipitate measure, we claim subsequent remuneration, should the experiment fail.'"

Unqualified emancipation was secured to the negroes on the 1st of August, 1838, by which, say the Assembly, "the proprietary body were unjustly deprived of two years service of the apprentice, which had been pledged to them by Act of Parliament, as part of their compensation."

In summing up their case, the Assembly remarks:—

"Up to one thousand eight hundred and seven, the exports of Jamaica progressively rose, as cultivation was extended. From that date they have been gradually sinking; but we more especially entreat attention to the evidence here adduced of the effect of emancipation which, in ten years, reduced the annual value of the three principal staples from £2,791,478 to £1,213,284, being in proportion of seven to sixteen, or equal, at five per cent., to an investment of about thirty-two millions of property annihilated. We believe the history of the world would be in vain searched for any parallel case of oppression, perpetrated by a civilized Government upon any section of its own subjects."

Nor does Jamaica stand alone in its complaints. In a late note from the West India Agents to the Colonial Secretary, we find that Barbadoes, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, St. Vincent, Dominica, the Virgin Isles, and Grenada, attribute their distresses mainly to "a premature emancipation of the slaves, without due provisions having been made for supplying the labour so abstracted, instead of extending the term to a lengthened period of years, employed in securing, as in other times and in other countries, habits of industry, to prepare the labourer for the transition from slavery to freedom."

The Anti-Slavery Committee, which represents the whole of the emancipated colonies, with the exception of Mauritius, urges the same view very strongly in their recent memorandum, addressed to Her Majesty's Government.

"This complaint has been entirely occasioned by the acts of the

Imperial Parliament. Within the last fifteen years these colonies have been subjected to a series of measures, social and fiscal, which have effected a complete revolution in their condition. The transition from bondage to perfect freedom, which, in Europe, was the work of ages, and only accomplished by the greater cheapness of free labour, was there precipitated without due preparation."

Having now fairly stated the alleged causes of West India distress, as set forth in the public and accredited documents of the West Indians themselves, we proceed to a refutation of the charge, that either the abolition of the slave-trade, or the abolition of slavery, has led to the ruin of which they complain.

In the October number of the *Reporter*, we produced evidence from the historians of Jamaica, and from the records of the Jamaica House of Assembly, that as far back as the year 1750, the planters of that colony laboured under severe distress, that from 1772 to 1792, not less than 177 estates of that island had been sold for the payment of debts, fifty-five estates thrown up, and that ninety-two were in the hands of the creditors; and that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,536,786 sterling, had been lodged in the office of the Provost Marshal in the course of those twenty years. In 1804, we further showed, from the Reports of the House of Assembly, that, "Every British merchant, holding securities on real estates, was filing bills in chancery to foreclose, although when he had obtained his decree, he hesitated to enforce it, because he would thereby become the proprietor of the plantation, of which from fatal experience, he knew the consequence;" and that "everywhere sheriff's officers, and collectors of taxes, were offering for sale, properties for less than half of their original cost."

Such is the picture drawn of Jamaica, during the palmy days of slavery and the slave-trade. And with little variations, such also was a fair portraiture of all the West Indian colonies during that memorable period.

From a report of the Committee, on the commercial state of the West Indian colonies, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 24th of July, 1807, we make the following extract, which will clearly show their deplorable condition, at the very time the abolition of the slave-trade took place, and consequently, when they could not be affected by it. The parliamentary Committee say:—

"From their (the witnesses examined) testimony, it appears that since the year 1799, there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar, although, at the same time, the duty, and all the expenses attending the cultivation, have been increasing, till at length the depression of the market has become such, that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expenses of cultivation, except upon estates of very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages. Calculations have been laid before your Committee, from the accounts of estates, both in Jamaica and other islands, by which it appears that the British supplies and inland expenses amount to 20s. 10d. in the former, and to 19s. 6d. in the latter, on the cwt. of sugar, after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum. As these calculations are formed upon an average of years, and upon estates of the ordinary scale, and in no respects unusually circumstanced, it appears to your Committee, that these sums per cwt. of sugar may be taken as the average expense of cultivation, independent of interest for the capital; and your Committee are confirmed in this opinion by finding a similar calculation in the report made by the Sugar Distillery Committee, in the last Parliament. To this must be added an expense of from 15s. 6d. to 16s. per cwt., necessarily incurred for freight, insurance, and other mercantile charges, between the shipping of the goods in the colonies, and their being offered to the market in this kingdom; forming together an amount of from 35s. to 36s., which appears, upon this evidence, to be the absolute cost of the planters per cwt. of sugar, before any return of capital can attach. Upon a reference to the average prices, published in the *Gazette*, for the last eight months, which vary from 36s. to 31s.—giving a mean price of 33s. 6d.—it appears evident that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss."

In concluding their report, the Committee say:—

"That, unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of planters, and of persons in this country holding annuities, and otherwise dependent upon those properties for their income, must inevitably very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain."—*Par. Pap.*, No. 65,—1807, pp. 3, 4, 7.

In the following year the same subject was again pressed on the attention of Parliament, and a voluminous report was printed by an order of the House of Commons of the 13th of April, 1808,



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No. 178, in which, among other things, it is recommended that sugar should be substituted for grain in our distilleries. To this report is appended a detailed statement from the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 13th November, 1807, in which they state that, within the last five or six years, sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-three sold under decrees of chancery, and 115 more respecting which, suits in chancery were depending and many more bills preparing. "From these facts," they go on to say, "the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing; for the sugar estates recently brought to sale, and now in the court of chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one fourth of the whole number of the colony. Your Committee have to lament, that ruin has already taken place, and they must, under a continuance of present circumstances, anticipate very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and, in the course of a few years, of the whole class of the sugar planters, excepting, perhaps, a very few in peculiar circumstances."

On the 15th of June, 1812, a "Representation of the Assembly of Jamaica to the King," was laid on the House of Commons, and printed by its order. It is numbered 279. In this representation they say, "The ruin of the original possessors has been gradually completed. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors, absent from the island, until there are large districts—whole parishes—in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident. The distress, they add, cannot be well aggravated."

In the debate on the East India Sugar Duties in the House of Commons in 1813, Mr. Marryat affirmed, "that there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the last twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors."

We pass over the intervening period until we approach the time of emancipation, not for want of evidence to show the wretched state of the West India colonies during the time of slavery, for we have ample proofs of that, but to direct the attention of our readers to another extract from the "Report of a select Committee on the Commercial State of the West India Colonies," printed by order of the House of Commons on the 13th April, 1832, viz:—

"Your Committee have received abundant evidence of this distress, which is said to have existed, in a considerable degree, for ten or twelve years past, and to have been greatly aggravated within the last three or four.

"The distress in this, as in all cases, affects the existing planter, and widows, orphans, and others who have annuities charged on estates; but it affects also the slave-labourer. Already he begins to suffer a deprivation of indulgences, and if continued depression should lead to the abandonment of estates, he will be placed in a condition highly dangerous to public tranquillity.

"The immediate cause of distress is the inadequacy of return; it is stated that the produce of the soil, in a majority of estates, does not ordinarily obtain, in any market, foreign or domestic, a price which replaces to the producer the cost of production; that, in many instances, there is now a serious deficiency, and that in very few there is any return of interest on the capital employed."

* * * * *

"Confined in the present instance to the staple article of sugar, the statement of the condition of the planter is more particularly thus:—

s. d.

The average cost of production of a cwt. of sugar in the British West Indies (without any charge for interest on capital), is	15 8
The expense of bringing it to market in Great Britain, is ..	8 6
Making together	24 2
Average price of 1831	23 8
Leaving a deficiency of	0 6

* * * * *

"It will be perceived that the average is formed upon the transactions of a variety of estates, situated in different colonies; that the particular accounts which produce the average range from 11s. 2d. to 21s. 8d., thus indicating a material difference in the situation of the several colonies, and of different planters; and showing that, at that average price, there is, in some cases a profit, when in others there is a loss."—*Par. Pap.*, No. 381.—1832, pp. 3, 4.

From the foregoing quotations, it must be apparent that great and aggravated distress existed in the West Indian colonies, both before the abolition of the slave-trade, and the abolition of slavery; and, consequently, cannot be traced to either of these great acts of

humanity and justice. On the contrary, notwithstanding the protection which they then enjoyed, which gave them a monopoly of the British markets, and the drawbacks and bounties which they were allowed on the export of their sugars to the continent, it was as clear as noon-day, that slavery was the ever present and prevailing cause of that distress. In a despatch of Viscount Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, dated the 5th November, 1831, referring to this very subject, he says:—

"The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is, unhappily, but too evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not that the body should yield to despair, but that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has led us to so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that *the great and permanent source of that distress*, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, *is to be found in the institution of slavery*. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support, in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward." And again, "*I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just.*"

But it may be said, that if the results of slavery were disastrous to the West Indians, the effects of emancipation have been more so, at least this is what they tell us. On this point, also, we are at issue with them; and we think we can prove, that instead of having lost, they have gained immensely by the abolition of slavery. Of course, in our remarks we put aside the benefits which have accrued to the emancipated, from that glorious act—their elevation to the dignity of freemen—their rapid increase by natural means—their physical improvement—their moral progress—their gradual advancement in knowledge, respectability and wealth, we leave out of our statement these gratifying facts; and confine ourselves to the point, that the West Indian body, as a whole, have not lost but gained by emancipation.

In the great speech, delivered by Lord Stanley, in 1833, which preceded the resolutions which doomed slavery to extinction, he said—

"One cause of the distress of the West India planters is, that, possessing the monopoly of the English market, they have gone beyond its wants; and they can no longer obtain such a price as will repay them for the cultivation of their estates. The amount of sugar at present imported exceeds the consumption by 1,000,000 cwts. annually. The consequence of this enormous excess of supply over the demand is, that the monopoly, as respects the planters, is a dead letter, and the price of their produce in this country is necessarily regulated by the price of the same article in the European markets. Nothing, therefore, can effectually relieve their distress short of enabling the consumption of England to come up to the produce of the colonies, or of reducing the amount of production in the colonies to the amount of consumption in England. Various objections have been raised against the taking any steps for the conversion of the slave population into a population of free men. In the first place, it is said that the effect of any such measure will be greatly to diminish the amount of production, and to render the cultivation of sugar impracticable. Now, as far as the amount of the production of sugar is concerned, I am not certain that it will not be for the benefit of the planters and the colonies, in the end, if that production were, in some degree, diminished."

We admit, if we take the West India Colonies alone, that a diminution in the exports of sugar to this country equal to the surplus above-mentioned has followed the abolition of Slavery in these colonies. The case stands thus:—

Imported in 12 years ending 1834..	Cwts. 46,340,625
Do. 12 do. 1846..	33,611,534
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Decrease, Cwts. 12,729,091	<hr/>

Showing an average decrease of 1,060,757 cwts. But, if we calculate the value of the exports by the Gazette average price of each year before, and after emancipation, we shall find the result to be as follows:—

46,340,625 Cwts. Sugar.....	£68,110,250
33,611,534 do.	63,931,937
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Decrease .. £4,178,313	<hr/>

Or an average yearly loss of £348,192. Now, we have to put against this sum (1), the interest on £20,000,000 compensation,

which at the colonial rate of interest, 6 per cent., is equal to £1,200,000 per annum ; (2) the abolition of the 4½ per cent. duties on sugars exported from the Leeward Islands, which may be put down at £70,000 per annum ; and, (3) the various severe restrictions on their commercial relations with foreign states, the value of which we, of course, are unable to calculate. Nor must we omit the gratifying fact, that, subsequently to their emancipation, the negroes have become great consumers of sugar, and that, consequently, there has been less to export, on that account, than during the period of slavery. In a financial point of view, then, it appears that with diminished crops, but increased prices, and the various advantages they have gained by emancipation, the West India body have gained, and not lost, by that act.

But if we add to the West India supply, the quantity of sugar imported into this country from Mauritius, and British India, during the period, the case will stand thus :—

Imported in 12 years ending 1834.....	Cwt. 53,976,660
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Do. 12 do. 1846.....	<u>51,977,162</u>
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Decrease, Cwts. 1,999,498

Or 166,624 Cwts. per annum. Valuing, however, these supplies at the average Gazette price for each year, we find a large balance in favour of the sugar growers, viz.:—

53,976,660 Cwts. Sugar.....	£79,334,465
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51,977,162 do.	<u>101,151,082</u>
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Increase in value.. £21,816,617

Or £1,817,969 average annual increase. These calculations were made by a gentleman deeply interested in West India affairs, and who, we have reason to believe, was much surprised at the result. We confess, we should have been sorry if the balance had been on the other side.

We now approach a subject on which we fully agree with the West India body. They tell us, that the chief cause of their present embarrassments is to be found in the introduction of foreign Slave-grown Sugars into the British markets. The following statement of facts will, we think, put this beyond all doubt. The quantity of sugar imported during the first ten months of 1847, was :—

British Tons. 243,857	
Foreign 104,956	
—————	348,813 Tons.

Consumed during the first ten months of 1847 :—

British Tons. 202,971	
Foreign 45,028	
—————	247,999

Surplus imports in ten months..... 100,814 Tons.

It will thus be seen that the imports of British sugars during the first ten months of 1847, was nearly equal to the total consumption of that period ; and would have been more than equal, we are assured, if vessels could have been obtained to have brought home the quantity ready for shipment in British India. The flooding, however, of the markets with foreign sugars, principally slave-grown, has entailed the heaviest losses on all connected with the British sugar trade ; and may lead to the most serious consequences—consequences which have already, we fear, affected the liberty and happiness of thousands of our race, and may affect millions, if the Government do not devise an early and sufficient remedy. The welfare of the British colonies, is in our judgment, bound up with the freedom of the human race. We are disposed, therefore, to aid them in every practicable and honourable way. Let not the colonists, suppose that we are their enemies, because we cannot join them in the cry for protection against all Foreign sugars. We think they can have no just ground for complaint, when we say, that all foreign sugar, the produce of free labour, should be allowed to come into the British markets on equal terms with their own. We advocate in common with them a reduction in the sugar duties, and indeed every other measure which may increase the internal consumption of that article in this country, and free their commerce from its remaining fetters. We war only against slave-grown produce, and against that, our doctrine is absolute prohibition. Let them not imagine when we

oppose their immigration schemes, that we would deprive them of a single element of prosperity. It is neither our inclination, nor our object to do this, but we feel persuaded, that the part we have taken on this subject, is not less sound in policy, than it is just and humane in principle, and that, we firmly believe that they will discover this before long.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE COLONIES.

(CIRCULAR.)

Downing-street, Sept. 29, 1847.

SIR,—I regret to be obliged to infer, from the tenor of the recent communications from the Governors of the West Indian Colonies, on the subject of education, that but little progress has yet been made in the establishment of industrial schools on the principles explained in my Circular Despatch of the 26th of January. I do not collect that objections have been felt in any of the colonies to the principles of the system recommended in that despatch. It is not denied that the future agricultural and commercial prosperity, as well as the moral and spiritual well-being of these communities must be mainly dependent on the impulse to be given to the education of the Negroes. It is admitted, I believe, that ignorance should not be permitted to perpetuate itself ; that if through ignorance the Negroes of the present generation are insensible to the blessings of education, they are not therefore to be allowed to refuse them to their offspring ; and that when they have ample means to do so, they may be as justly and fitly compelled by the State to provide them with instruction as to provide them with food and clothing. Nor is it contended that there would be any insuperable difficulty in combining with an obligation on the part of the parents to provide competent teaching, of one kind or another, perfect liberty of conscience, and freedom of choice as regards doctrinal differences in the religious portion of it.

But finding that whilst these principles are not denied, they can hardly be said to have as yet been acted upon, I am apprehensive that parties whose activity might otherwise have been relied on, may have been discouraged by the apparent magnitude of the scheme recommended in the enclosure to my Circular Despatch, and by the elaborate character of the details. I am anxious to explain, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government would most gladly promote the adoption of any more simple and less complete plan of industrial education, which could be at once set on foot, leaving the improvement and completion of it to be the work of time and experience. And as the assurance of practicability afforded by a plan already in successful operation, would doubtless be a great encouragement to active measures, I wish to call your attention to the enclosed extract of a report of the success attending the industrial schools established by the Moravian minister in the island of Tobago.

Her Majesty's Government would be perfectly content with schools established on the simple plan carried into operation in such instances as these ; and they would rejoice to promote their extension throughout the whole of each colony, by concurring in the legislation which might be requisite for the purpose.

In my despatch of January 28th, the particular measures which I suggested were, that either a tax should be levied upon the population at large, for the express purpose of raising money for the expense of education, and that thus existing schools should be enabled to receive children without charge to their parents, or else that a law should be passed making it the duty of parents to educate their children, not prescribing any particular mode of doing so, but punishing those who neglected this duty, by fines somewhat exceeding the payments which would be sufficient to obtain for the children admission to well conducted schools. I am still of opinion that legislation of this sort, and more especially such a measure as that which I have last mentioned, would tend more directly than any other yet proposed, to the accomplishment of the end in view, nor can I perceive any valid objection in principle to such a law. It would, in fact, be only a more complete adoption in the colonies of a principle already partially introduced into the legislation of this country by those clauses of the Acts for regulating labour in factories, which require, as the condition upon which alone children of certain ages shall be admitted into factories, that in every week they shall pass a prescribed number of hours in school. But I cannot overlook the considerations which have been suggested to me in a despatch from Governor Hig-

ginson (Antigua, No. 11, of the 9th December, 1846), as bearing against the plan either of imposing a tax falling principally upon the Negroes, as forming the mass of the population, specifically for the purposes of education, or of enforcing education by a penalty. If, as he conceives to be the case, there are peculiarities in the Negro character, which would operate against the success of any such plan, if it would be likely, in the opinion of the local authorities, to generate a feeling of suspicion or irritation in the minds of the Negroes, and tend to defeat rather than promote education, I am far from desiring to oppose to views founded on such local knowledge, my own more general conclusions. In this case, the mode of proceeding which Governor Higginson would prefer (and which, indeed, if it be practicable, there is no one who would not prefer,) that of inspiring the Negro parents with a just appreciation of the benefits of education, might perhaps be aided by rendering education a means of obtaining privileges and advantages. The elective franchise, for example, might be confined by law to those who can read and write, and rewards and prizes might be bestowed on proficients in the principal branches of knowledge taught in the schools; public examinations open to children from all schools, being instituted for the purpose of determining to whom such prizes should be given.

In conclusion, I have only further to observe, that whilst Her Majesty's Government are anxious to call the attention of the colonial legislatures to any project which the knowledge obtained in this country on the subject of education may enable them to suggest, or to any which may have the recommendation of having been tried with success in a West Indian colony, they are by no means desirous to limit the views of the legislatures to such projects only, still less to press for their adoption in detail. They merely wished to supply all the information at their command, which is likely to be useful and available; and what would give them the greatest satisfaction would be, to learn that the legislatures had taken this important subject into their own hands, with a view to work out such a system of moral, religious, and industrial training as might be the best adapted to local circumstances. I rely upon your unintermitting endeavours to bring about so desirable a result.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) GREY.

Governor Reid, &c.

Extract of a Report from Lieutenant-Governor Graeme, dated Tobago, 19th March, 1847, and transmitted in Governor Reid's Despatch, No. 17, of 18th May, 1847.

"The Moravians commence by a system of discipline, which, without fatiguing either the mind or the body, is well suited to children of the most tender age. The more advanced are (as part of their education) required to sweep the school-rooms, trim the walks, and ornament the grounds without the confines of the mission establishment; plant and weed Guinea grass; raise Indian corn, bananas, and other fruits and vegetables. To the elder pupils are assigned small plots of land, for their own exclusive benefit; and I am informed, that in many cases, the boys are not unfrequently at work in their gardens early and late; by such means as these industrial habits are implanted, and obedience and regularity inculcated imperceptibly on the minds of the rising generation—elements of instruction almost as necessary to the future comfort and happiness of the labouring classes as the intellectual acquirements of reading and writing.

"This system is only an humble imitation of that recommended in the Secretary of State's Circular despatch of the 26th of January, and appears to me to be founded upon the principles of the industrial schools at Hofyle, in Switzerland; but it has the advantage of extreme simplicity and cheapness, and may be immediately applied to all schools in the rural districts of this island (Tobago)."

(CIRCULAR.)

Downing-street, Sept. 29, 1847.

SIR,—With reference to my Circular Despatch of this date, on the subject of education, I take this opportunity of advertizing to a doubt which has been expressed in this country (though not, so far as I am aware, in the colonies,) as to one element in the scheme for industrial Schools, propounded in the enclosure to my Circular Despatch of the 25th January. It has been supposed that the scheme contemplated the employment of the children, for much the greater part of the day, in manual labour, whilst only a small

portion was to be given to religious and other instruction. I should not desire to be understood as entering into any details of the allotment of time for one species of instruction or another, in any recommendations which were to be addressed to the Colonial Legislatures; but, unquestionably, the industrial training should always be regarded, however important, as subsidiary to the other, and not as making any demand on the time of the scholars, which would be incompatible with a full and sufficient measure of attention to other objects. I apprehend that the time to be spent in the field, or the garden, should rather be a wholesome relief from the labours of the school-room, than interferences with their efficacy.

I notice the doubts which have been raised on this subject, in the event of any occasion occurring on which you might be called upon to dispel them; but, if they are not entertained by those with whom you are in communication, it will not be necessary that you should advert to them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

Governor Reid, C. B.

GREY.

COOLIE EMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

In a late number of the *Reporter* we showed, from official documents, that 90,216 immigrants had been introduced into Mauritius, from the year 1834 to the 30th of November, 1846; and that of these no less than 63,083 had been imported from the commencement of the year 1843 to the end of November, 1846. We have no returns for the month of December, 1846; but by the last mail we learn, that from the 1st of January to the 31st of August, 1847, the number of Coolies introduced amounted to 2554, namely, 2082 men, 296 women, and 176 children. It would appear from this statement either that the Coolie trade is not so brisk as formerly, or that the Agent at Calcutta, and his subordinates, the Duffadars, cannot obtain the necessary supplies, for it is provided by the Government, that the number to be annually introduced shall, in future, be 6000, exclusive of women and children.

By the returns, given up to the 30th November, 1843, we find the number of males imported was 51,532; women, 7,766; children, 3,785, total 63,083. From this statement it will be seen that the women were in the proportion to the men of 14 to every 100; and the same is about the proportion of the sexes for the first eight months of 1847. It is clear, however, that few of the women introduced were married, as the number of children they took with them was as 3,961 of the latter to 8,162 of the former, that is, scarcely one-half.

The departures of Coolies from Mauritius to India, from the 1st of January to the 31st of July, 1847, amounted to 1,545; viz., 1,422 men, 113 women, and 10 children. We call attention to the remarkable fact, that few children return to India with their friends. It is suspected, we cannot say how truly, that to other revolting practices of the Coolies, must be added the crime of infanticide. Whether this be really the case or no, the figures we have given reveal a frightful state of society, whichever way we look at them; and, in our judgment, great guilt must attach to the government which creates, and the country which allows it to be perpetuated.

To show the false principles on which this immigration scheme is built, we mention the fact, that whilst the departures of Coolies from Mauritius, during the first seven months of 1847, comprised 1,422 men, 113 women, and 10 children, in all 1,545; the arrivals amounted to only 1,239 men, 235 women, and 122 children, total 1,596, a number barely covering those who had left the colony. But if we add the deaths to the departures, we shall find the balance of several hundreds against the colony. Thus: deaths 350, departures 1,545, together 1,895; arrivals 1,596, or 296 less. The loss of effective strength to the colony is even greater than this, for we find that the number of men who left and died, from the 1st of January to the 31st July, 1847, was 1,719; whereas the number of men introduced, during that period, to replace them, was only 1,239, or 580 less. Let the expense of this scheme be placed against the results, and we are satisfied it will be found too costly for Mauritius, as well as for the West Indies. It will not and cannot pay in the long run.

PETITION OF THE LADIES OF PARIS FOR THE ABOLITION
OF SLAVERY.

It gives us much pleasure to submit to the attention of our readers, particularly our female friends, the following copy of a petition, prepared for presentation to the Chamber of Deputies, by a body of French Ladies. It is a rare thing for the women of France to interest themselves thus publicly. We trust, however, that this is but the beginning of efforts of this kind, and that they will not be deterred by any amount, either of obloquy or ridicule, that may be poured upon them, from promoting, by all means in their power, the noble cause to which they are devoted.

We are happy to be able to add that four petitions are in course of circulation throughout France, to be presented during the present session of the French Chambers. One of them is under the special care of the Catholic clergy; another under that of the Protestant pastors; the other two are for general signature; but the prayer of all is for immediate and entire abolition. Never were the abolitionists of France more actively and zealously engaged than at present. The French Abolition Society, composed of the most influential men in France, is using its influence in every possible way to promote the object of the petitions. Nor are individuals less devoted to this noble work. We cannot refrain from particularizing more especially Mr. C. A. Bissette, a gentleman of color, whose labors are immense, and whose zeal in this good cause is untiring. We need not say we wish all parties thus engaged the most entire success.

GENTLEMEN,—Although women should not take any part in political affairs, they are permitted, without doubt, to interest themselves in a question of religion and humanity. In England, a petition signed by six hundred thousand women, was presented to Queen Victoria, to hasten the day for the complete emancipation of the blacks; we would not be behind our English sisters; we would not yield to them either in devotion to the holy laws of the Gospel, or in charity for the unfortunate.

Permit us, then, to raise our voice in behalf of the slave, and especially of the female slaves of our colonies; for if *man* is miserable in a state of slavery, *woman* is more so. She has lost all that constituted the dignity of her sex, and it is hardly possible to accord to her the name of woman; a name which you have learned to respect, gentlemen, in the person of your mothers, your wives, your daughters, and your sisters. Nothing is more sad to rehearse, than the history of the life of a negress in our colonies; and we are compelled to soften some of the traits, to be able for a few moments to contemplate it.

As soon as the young girl is able to participate in the labours of the plantation, she is conducted there under the whip of the overseer, who spares her no more than he does the others. There is no pity, there is no respect for the childhood of the female sex; and that, notwithstanding childhood was deemed worthy of respect even among the heathen, the best which it can hope, is to be given as a plaything to the children of the master, and to serve their caprices; happy in the profound abasement to enjoy the lot of a domestic animal. This young girl receives neither *morel* nor religious instruction.—France has ordained, it is true, that religion shall be seriously taught to the children of slaves; but she has never been obeyed. More than one hundred and sixty years have passed since the first articles of the black code were trodden under foot, according to the confession of the planters themselves, who make the violation of the law the means of postponing every measure for emancipation. The new ordinances have changed nothing; for the strength of circumstances is stronger than the will of the legislator. Between Christianity and slavery no concord is possible. When the child of the negro becomes a Christian, he ought to be liberated; or rather he already is, because he has a conscience.

Thus, for this young child, religion is nothing but a vain word; and her soul, of which her master has no need, for the cultivation of his plantation, is as though it were not. The unhappy child grows up, always bending under the yoke, expiating the least fault by the shameful punishment of the lash. Without support for the present, and without hope for the future, she grows up, alas! and years do nothing but expose her to the most painful outrages. We would not raise the veil which covers the horrid picture. The deeds which are committed without shame and without restraint in our colonies, thought shudders to approach. You know them, gentlemen; the whole world testifies to them; the planters even boast of them. We will only say, these immoralities are the inevitable consequence of the right of property in man. In the colonies, as in the East, a female who is bought and paid for, a female slave, has nothing which belongs to her, whatever restrictions are established by the legislator. We will say yet further, that this young girl, made subservient to the passions of her master, is often liable to excite the jealous passions of her mistress; so that, doubly unfortunate, she can neither protect herself from being debased, nor from being abused for her debasement!

The name of wife, the most dignified and holy for woman after that of Christian, this young girl can never bear. What is marriage to them, whilst they are slaves? In other words, what is a woman who belongs to her master rather than to her husband? And what are the children, who are not the father's, but under the good pleasure of the planter, whose property he himself is? We have the most entire conviction, gentlemen, that when France introduced into her laws the words, *the marriage of slaves*, she wrote an impossibility and nonsense.—There was a generous thought; but it must necessarily end in cruel mockery.

A female slave becomes a mother; that which, in another condition is the dearest and most precious gift, is converted for the slave into a new source of bitterness and grief; and how often have these unhappy ones been known to stifle at their birth the beings whom they would spare the burden of a life like their own! Hardly has he arrived at the age to be valuable in the market, (what horrible words we are obliged to write!) when this child will, perhaps, be snatched from the arms of its mother.

In the colonies, the master can do every thing. His property, man, is as subject to the chances of commerce as his cattle and real estate. He does whatever he pleases, with him; and to be arraigned before a court of justice he must commit crimes so atrocious that the magistrate dare not close his eyes to them. Still does he not most frequently endure a punishment merely derisive, and is it not perplexing to decide whether the wrong of so light a penalty is not greater than that of the outrage itself, which it is proposed to punish? The mother cries out and weeps, when her child is wrested from her; but what does it avail? The voice of blood, the voice of God, the sacred and inviolable bonds of the family, all must yield before the right of the master. The first violation of the laws of providence, drags a thousand others after it. It is a fatal chain, which will fall in pieces, if one seriously attempts to break a ring of it. Unhappy mother, suppress the murmurs of your heart, and conceal your tears. If your master shall see you weeping too much and too long, who knows that he will not accuse you of rebellion, and for the sake of example, judge it necessary to tear your body in pieces by the blows of the whip, before all the people, in order to efface the traces of your tears in your blood? And then, why do you weep? Your son will not be whipped, your daughter will not be dishonoured, before your eyes; and now that they are far from you, you will at least be permitted to abandon yourself to the pleasant illusion, that they do not suffer all which you have to suffer.

This woman grows old in labour, and suffering age comes to deliver her from the wrongful compliances imposed upon her; but it makes around her a sad solitude. No husband—no children. She drags herself along, till her hands, feeble from old age, refuse to perform their accustomed task. At last she dies, and goes to bear witness to God of the life, which human beings, who call themselves the disciples of Christ, made her live.

What can we add, gentlemen, to this mournful recital? All which we have told you is true, is entirely true. Now, lay your hands upon your consciences; ask your heart, ask yourselves, what religion, justice, humanity, and national honour, demand, and pronounce it? You are the representatives of a nation, peculiarly Christian, of this generous France. In addressing an appeal to your sentiments of humanity and justice, we have the assurance of being heard. We do not speak of the financial, commercial, and industrial questions connected with the emancipation of the slaves; they do not belong to our province, and they will find judges more enlightened than ourselves. Our sole mission was to bring succour to the sacredness of misfortune. We have done our duty; we hope, gentlemen, you will do yours.

DISUSE OF SLAVE-LABOUR PRODUCE.

It affords us sincere gratification to find that there is springing up in various parts of the country a desire to avoid, as far as practicable, the use of all articles the produce of slave labor. We trust that this feeling will soon become general, and that tradesmen in all parts of the country will feel it to be no less their interest than their duty to provide themselves with those articles into which the produce of free labour alone is found to enter.

As one proof of the interest taken in this important branch of anti-slavery effort, we call attention to a tract published at Newcastle, the following extracts from which we have great pleasure in submitting to the friends of the oppressed slave throughout the country.

"READER,—We solicit your attention, while we bring under your notice a case of cruelty, in which, as a nation, we are deeply implicated; not *intentional* cruelty on our part, it is true, but equally oppressive in its results, and evincing, to say the least, a remarkable want of consideration for the feelings of others. We allude to the consumption of slave-grown produce, and the consequent stimulus given to slavery and the slave-trade. Were the misery we thus occasion only brought to our doors, we would start from it aghast, horrified and self-condemned!"

"To illustrate our meaning, we will suppose that a leading baker of the town we live in, is an unprincipled tradesman. He is known to use dishonest means in obtaining his supplies—he keeps back the wages of his work-people—he beats and half-starves his apprentices—he allows them no time, even to go to church, or to read the Bible. Would any respectable householder choose to be seen in the shop of such a man, while there is an honest baker on the other side of the street? Yet the lady who would not buy a loaf of bread manufactured under such circumstances, calls at the next shop, and buys a pound of sugar, the production of which has been attended with human misery ten times more intolerable. She little thinks that to enable her to sweeten her daily meal, the African village may have been fired—the horrors of the middle passage inflicted—human beings brought to the auction-block and sold into interminable slavery, the wife from the husband, and the child from the parent—the gang, male and female, driven to the cane-field with a cart-whip—herded together at night like cattle—systematically kept in heathen darkness and degradation!

"Perhaps you are inclined to repudiate the charge of giving encouragement or support to such a wicked system. Let us come then to the proof. You step into a shop, and purchase a pound of sugar from some slave-colony; for instance, Cuba. It may be you do not know that it is *slave-grown*, but this is no excuse; you *ought* to know. The grocer takes your sixpence, and retaining a fraction as his profit, hands all the remainder to the wholesale dealer; and the dealer hands it to the importer; the importer to the Cuba merchant; the merchant to the slave-holder, to whom it becomes a premium for the maintenance of slavery. Thus a regular channel for our gold is kept open between the English consumer and the Cuban planter. It is this that steels his heart against the slave, that pays the slave-driver, and feeds the blood-hound. It is not *cruelty* the planter loves, but *gold*; and this we give in exchange for sugar; to produce which, he flogs the slave. 'Verily we are guilty concerning our brother.'

"The remedy is simple. We do not ask you to give up the use of sugar, but merely to avoid the slave-grown article, and use that of Jamaica, Bengal, or some other British possession, where happily the lash is now unknown. Slave-grown sugar is no longer shut out by a statute of the realm. What a noble spectacle it would be, and how powerfully it would tell upon foreign nations to see this country in advance of its laws—slave-sugar shut out by the moral sense of the community! * * *

"Englishmen are accustomed to pride themselves on West Indian emancipation; and it was a noble feeling which spent twenty millions in an act of justice. But if, after abolishing slavery in our sugar islands, we transfer our orders to the foreign slave-holder, where is the benefit? If we were *determined* to use the produce of slavery, why did we not keep the money in our coffers, and continue to employ slaves upon our own soil, where we might have watched over their interests, instead of increasing the number of those in Cuba, and leaving them to the tender mercies of Spanish slave-drivers?

* * * * *

"Seeing that results so oppressive attend the consumption of slave-produce, it is surely the duty of every one who lays claim to a particle of humanity, or Christian feeling, to abstain from it as much as possible.

* * * * *

"It has been calculated that every *five families*, who use slave produce *employ one slave*! The most serious difficulty we anticipate is in the article of cotton, so universal is its use, and so oppressive is its culture. To meet this case, some progress has been made in obtaining free-labour cotton from Trinidad, and even from America itself, under proper guarantees. One or two mill-owners have also been induced to manufacture it, and the effort only waits encouragement and co-operation to be extended, and made to embrace a variety of fabrics and qualities. It is a significant fact, that slaves have been overheard on the plantations, praying 'that cotton may be low,' so alive are they to the prejudicial influence of an active demand. From this also we may learn that, to encourage the growth of free-labour cotton in British India and Australia would confer a blessing on both hemispheres.

"To give facility to the exercise of conscientious and humane feeling, with respect to sugar and other articles, the following classified list has been compiled, and is now submitted with confidence to the public, having been carefully revised both by the merchant and the philanthropist. The friends of freedom would do well in making their purchases, to ascertain that the article they

buy belongs to the *first column*, or at least, that it does not belong to the *second*."

THE FREE-MAN, OR THE SLAVE; WHICH SHALL SUPPLY YOUR TABLE?

Produce of Free Labour.	Produce of Slave Labour.	Partly Free, Partly Slave, or uncertain.
SUGAR.	SUGAR.	SUGAR.
British West India, (Including Jamaica, Barbadoes, Demerara, Antigua, Trinidad, St. Kitt's, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, Dominica)	Cuba Brazil St. Croix Porto Rico Loaf Sugar, manufactured from any of the above.	Java Siam
Mauritius Bengal Dhobah Cossipore Madras Manilla Loaf Sugar, manufactured from any of the above.		
COFFEE.	COFFEE.	COFFEE.
British West India Ceylon St. Domingo	Cuba Brazil or Rio Porto Rico La Guayra Mysore	Mocha Malabar Costa Rica Java
COCOA.	COCOA.	
Trinidad Grenada	Para Bahia	
RICE.	RICE.	
Italian Patna Bengal Madras	Carolina Spanish	
TOBACCO.	TOBACCO.	
British India British West India St. Domingo	Virginia Kentucky Maryland Cuba	
TEA.		
Assam China, (Possibly with some qualification; the interior of China being yet but little known.)		
SPICES.		SPICES.
Cinnamon Cassia Nutmegs Pimento Ginger, British Colonial		Black Pepper Cloves Ginger, Foreign
SAGO.		
ARROWROOT.	TAPIOCA.	

N.B.—The Classification in this List must be understood to apply to the description of each Article most current in the Market.

* * * The Tract may be obtained of Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street, London; or of T. P. Barker, Newcastle.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The following graphic illustrations are from the pen of the Rev. Ebenezer Davies, Missionary to Berbice, who during the past year was an eye witness of the scenes he relates.

My last letter left me in Banks's Arcade, viewing for the first time in my life, a slave auction. The auctioneer was a sleek looking fellow, with a face that indicated a pretty close and frequent intercourse with the brandy bottle. He stood upon a platform, about four feet high. Behind him was a table, and at that table a clerk, sitting to record the sales. High above this platform was a semi-circular board, on which were written, in large letters, "Beard, Calhoun and Co." In front of the platform, standing upon a chair, exposed to the gaze of some 70 or 100 men, stood a fine young woman. She had an air of dignity even in that degrading position. Around the platform were some twenty or thirty more of the sable race, waiting their turn to arrive.

"440 dollars only offered," continued the coarse and heartless auctioneer; "450, (thank you,) 460, 460 dollars only offered for this excellent young woman—470 only, 470—480, 480 dollars only offered—490—500 dollars offered—going for 500 dollars—once, going for 500 dollars—503 dollars—going for 503 dollars—going once—twice—gone for 503 dollars. She is yours, Sir," pointing to the highest bidder. She stepped down, and disappeared in the custody of her new proprietor.

A man and his wife, both black, were now put up. They were made to ascend the platform. "Now, how much for this man and his wife? Who makes an offer? What say you for the pair? 550 dollars offered—560 dollars only; 560 dollars—560 dollars—560 dollars—560 dollars—570 dollars; only 579 dollars for these two people—580 dollars—580 dollars—580 dollars only—going for 580 dollars—590 dollars—600 dollars—only 600 dollars offered for the pair. Really, gentlemen, it is throwing the people away—going for 600 dollars; going—once—twice—gone for 600 dollars. They are yours, Sir."

The next was a black boy, sixteen years of age. He mounted the chair, not the platform. "Now, gentlemen, here is an excellent plough boy. Who bids for him? (Thank you.) 400 dollars bid for him—425 dollars—only 425 dollars bid for this fine young plough boy—475 dollars—475 dollars—475 dollars only offered for him—500 dollars—525 dollars—550 dollars only 550 dollars. Why look at him; he is a powerful limbed boy; he'll make a very large strong man—560 dollars only offered for him—570 dollars—580 dollars—going for 580 dollars—590 dollars—600 dollars—going for 600 dollars only—going—625 dollars—going for 625 dollars—who bids more than 625 dollars?—going for 625 dollars—once—twice—gone for 625 dollars. He is yours, Sir."

(To be continued.)

NOTICE.

We beg to call the especial attention of our readers and friends, at the commencement of a new year, to the organ of the Society, the

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

which not only requires their earnest support, but their active exertions to promote its more extended circulation. We press this matter on our friends, not only because a large gratuitous foreign circulation makes it necessary that our home subscription list should be well kept up, but on account of the large amount of information given in its columns, on the state of the Anti-slavery question throughout the world, not otherwise attainable.

The *Reporter* is published on the first of every month, at a charge of *Five Shillings per Annum*, payable in advance.

We shall feel obliged by our subscribers remitting the amount for this year's issue, as early as convenient.

1st January, 1848.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1848.

That the West India body, residing in this country, and that part of the planters, or merchants, who represent them in the colonies, are anxious for a renewal of the Slave-trade, is now too plainly evident. Among the measures which they propose to government for their permanent relief, is that of a large supply of Africans, at the public expense.

As we showed in our last number, those who represent Jamaica, in a memorial recently transmitted to government, boldly ask that public means of transport may be provided "for the thousands of slaves brought down by native princes for sale and shipment to the foreign trader;" and further, that "government," through its moral force, should "negotiate with the native princes of Africa, to allow the free emigration of their subjects; and, also, to ransom their prisoners of war." In other words, that this country should enter into competition with the Cuban and Brazilian pirates and slave-traders, to supply Jamaica with labourers. British Guiana has not been slow in making a similar demand. In a petition, got up by the principal men in that colony, after declaring "that immigration from Africa is best adapted to the wants of their colony," and referring to "the social condition of the Africans in their own country," they suggest also, that in order to procure them in sufficient numbers, negotiations should be entered upon "with their chiefs, to induce them to permit their vassals and dependents to emigrate to the British settlements, instead of forcing them by sale to illicit traders, to go to slave countries, where their condition of slavery is perpetuated." To effect this purpose, they ask the House of Commons for a loan, under such regulations as may be deemed proper. The loan is to be used in "conciliating the chiefs," and in defraying the cost necessarily attendant upon so

large an immigration as the leading planters and merchants of Demerara may judge sufficient to meet their wants. Nor is Trinidad a whit behind Jamaica and Guiana. In the petition presented to Parliament on the 17th December last, from that island, the sugar planters say, "That as an indispensable means of reducing the cost of production," they "should be allowed unrestricted access to the coast of Africa, and to all other places where they may obtain fresh additions to their free labouring population."

It is true, the Trinidad petition does not ask, at present, that the expenses attendant on the purchase and transport of Africans shall be paid by the people of England, because they have contrived already to saddle that colony with a loan, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, not yet expended for immigration purposes, yet there can be no doubt that, emboldened by the demands of Jamaica and Guiana, Trinidad will also require that the proposed slave-trade with Africa shall be carried on at the public expense.

That the alleged want of labourers is not real, but factitious, may be proved from the fact, that, with the present supply, the British sugar-growers raise a larger quantity of that article, than can find a profitable market at home; and that, should the greater number of estates be abandoned, as we are threatened they will be, in consequence of the over-supply of the British markets with sugar, and the heavy reduction in price resulting therefrom, large bodies of labourers will be thrown out of employ, and yet, in the face of all this, they demand more labourers!

But let us distinguish between the few West Indians who desire this immigration, and the many who disapprove of it. We firmly believe, that the great body of resident planters in our sugar colonies, if they dared speak out, would tell the government that they are satisfied with the present amount of labour; and that their chief difficulty consists in the want of means to secure it. An extensive scheme of immigration, however much it may cripple the general resources of the colonies, which it unquestionably does, affords splendid pickings to certain parties in this country, and their agents elsewhere. We have no doubt that facts will come out by and by, which will convince the most incredulous, that it is not labour but capital that is most wanted; and that immigration is a curse and not a blessing, to the emancipated colonies.

The question of education in the British colonies is one of deep interest and importance. All who wish well to the emancipated classes must desire that it should be universally diffused among them, that all may partake of its blessings. But whether that education should be left to the discretion and means of the parent, assisted, when necessary, by societies established for that purpose; or should be made compulsory by the Government, is, as our readers are aware, the object of keen dispute.

Wielding the powers of the Government in his capacity of Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey decided, in the early part of last year, not only that education in the colonies, should be compulsory, but that it should also be religious. His lordship therefore, in a circular to the several Governors of the colonies, intimated his will that schools should be established for the industrial training, the mental improvement, and the spiritual welfare of the negro children; and that, if need be, laws should be passed, "which should constrain the parents of children, not exceeding a specified age, to send such children to school, under a penalty for neglecting to do so, unless for cause shown, and to pay a specified sum for their schooling." The details of the plan, the noble lord wished to be adopted, were drawn up by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth. "The school," this gentleman says, "should be regarded as a large Christian family, assembled for mutual benefit, and conducted by a well ordered domestic economy. For this purpose," he adds, "the children, having breakfasted, should be at school at a very early period after sunrise. At this hour, they should be assembled for morning prayer. The utmost reverence should pervade this exercise. The work of the day should then commence. The scholars would have their dinner at the school, and in the evening, would return to their homes immediately before sunset. The school would close as it began, by prayer." Elaborate instructions are then given for the industrial training of the scholars, which is to "be regarded as second only to their instruction from the Holy Scriptures, and their training in the duties of a religious life." The large amount, however, of physical labour marked out by Mr. Shuttleworth, in the garden and the farm, the kitchen and the wash-tub, leads him to observe, that "the various industrial

employments of the scholars would curtail the ordinary hours of school ; but, that "certainly all that has been described might be accomplished, and at least, *two or three hours daily reserved for religious and other instruction.*" According to this arrangement, the children would be under the care of the school superintendents, for a period of twelve hours daily, one hour of which, we presume, would be allowed them for dinner, eight hours for labour, and at most, three hours for instruction ; thus, practically, making their mental and moral training secondary, and subsidiary to the culture of "canes, or other exportable produce," "whereby," to use Lord Grey's words, "the children may be exercised in that species of cultivation, in which it will be, generally speaking, most expedient that they should be afterwards employed."

Against this extraordinary scheme we protested, as soon as it was made public, as an infringement of parental rights, as involving harshness and cruelty to the children, and as a direct invasion of religious liberty. But we felt, at the same time, that the scheme was impracticable ; that its details could never be worked out, and that it would be resisted, if not by the planters, at least by the negroes, who never would consent that their children should be removed from their care for such lengthened periods as twelve hours every day. Besides, the nature of the religious instruction to be imparted we knew would be fiercely debated between Catholics and Protestants, Episcopilians and Presbyterians, German Lutherans, and others, in the pay of the colonies, and that, as a consequence, the most important feature of the scheme, in Lord Grey's estimation, would be destroyed.

It now appears that we were right in our conjectures. Lord Grey has found "that but little progress has yet been made in the establishment of industrial schools," on the principles recommended in his circular despatch ; and is, therefore, content to modify his instructions, though he still asserts the compulsory principle. "It is," says his lordship, "admitted, I believe, that ignorance should not be permitted to perpetuate itself ; that if, through ignorance, the negroes of the present generation are insensible to the blessings of education, they are not, therefore, to be allowed to refuse them to their offspring ; and that when they have ample means to do so, *they may as justly and fitly be compelled by the state to provide them with instruction, as to provide them with food and clothing.*" So speaks his lordship in his second circular despatch of the 29th of September, 1847, which will be found in another part of the *Reporter*.

In the plan pursued by the Moravians, in Tobago, referred to in the despatch, there cannot be the least possible objection, provided it be, in all cases, voluntary and unconstrained, except by an appeal to the higher motives of parental duty and obligation.

Lord Grey does not now, we perceive, insist that the instructions furnished by Mr. Shuttleworth shall be fully carried into effect, but that he would be satisfied "to learn that the Legislatures had taken this important subject into their own hands, with a view to work out such a system of moral, religious, and industrial training, as might be best adapted to local circumstances."

In reference to the apportionment of the time of the children in the training schools, of which we formerly complained, his lordship observes :—"It has been supposed that the scheme contemplated the employment of the children, for much the greater part of the day, in manual labour, whilst only a small portion was to be given to religious and other instruction. I should not desire to be understood as entering into any details of the allotment of time for one species of instruction or another, in any recommendations which were to be addressed to the Colonial Legislature ; but, unquestionably, the industrial training should always be regarded, however important, as subsidiary to the other, and not as making any demand on the time of the scholars, which would be incompatible with a full and sufficient measure of attention to other objects. I apprehend that the time to be spent in the field, or the garden, should rather be a wholesome relief from the labours of the school-room, than interferences with their efficacy."

This is an important concession ; but, as the question is again remitted to the various Colonial Legislatures, it becomes the duty of the emancipated classes and their friends, to use their most earnest exertions to prevent a scheme of compulsory religious education, however modified, from being introduced among them ; and, at the same time, to promote more earnestly and zealously than ever, the general education of the rising race.

It affords us sincere gratification to learn, that the principal inhabitants of Antigua, have formed themselves into an Anti-Slavery Society, for the great purpose of promoting the universal extinction of slavery, and the slave-trade. This example, we trust, will be followed by every emancipated colony. A noble league may thus be formed, which, acting in conjunction with the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, the object all have in view may be greatly promoted. When we are favoured with the necessary information from Antigua, we shall be happy to give it currency through the columns of the *Reporter*.

We take this opportunity of correcting a very singular mistake into which the *Antigua Observer* has fallen, in reference to the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society. It appears, that the impression is, that the Society refuses to assist the West India body, in their present embarrassments, "on the supposition that the proprietors will alone be injured, by the admission of slave-grown sugar." Nothing can be more erroneous than this. The fact is, the only consistent opponents of that measure, were the Anti-Slavery Society, whose views and efforts, we should have thought, were too well known to require this explanation. At the time its Committee were labouring to prevent the introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugars into this country, the West Indian Committee were either dumb, or consenting parties to the measure. We had to fight the battle of West Indian interests and of human freedom alone. The West Indian Committee thought, that in some way or other, the colonies would be amply compensated for their acquiescence in the government scheme ; and, as we predicted, they have been deceived. Our labouring friends, in the West Indies, of all classes, may be assured, that we take as deep an interest as ever in all questions which relate to their prosperity and freedom ; but we must frankly tell them that, whilst we are the uncompromising foes of any and every measure which brings the produce of slave countries into competition with that of our own free colonies, we cannot, on principle, object to foreign sugars raised by freemen, finding their way into the general consumption of this country. At the same time, we are the advocates of every fair measure which shall increase the consumption of sugar in this country ; which shall relieve the colonies from unnecessary taxation ; and which shall secure to them the greatest freedom of commerce. Let there be but a good understanding between the liberal and enlightened portions of West India society, and the abolitionists of this country, and something may yet be done to mitigate, if not remove, the distress which has resulted from the disastrous sugar measure of 1846.

Whatever may be thought of the wildness of the project, there can be no doubt of the fact, that there is a considerable party in the United States, who are bent upon the annexation of Cuba. Every mail brings some curious revelations upon this subject ; and the American press already begin to speculate on the number of representatives and senators such an annexation would give to Congress. For instance, it is calculated, upon the basis of the slave-representation in the United States, that not less than ten members will be added to the House of Representatives, and a like number to the senate. We presume that this important subject is not overlooked by the British Government. The last move of the annexation party, is stated in the following extract from the *Charleston Mercury*, in these terms :—

The *New Orleans Bulletin*, of last Saturday, says,—The *Patriot* of yesterday announces that it is informed, through a respectable source, that a new Spanish journal will, in the course of a very short time, be established in this city, 'dedicated exclusively to advocate the emancipation (independence) of the Island of Cuba, and its annexation to the United States.' One of the two principal editors will come hither from Havana, where the sum of ten thousand dollars is already available for this new enterprize ; the other is already in the United States, and if not now in New Orleans, will soon be here. With regard to its introduction into Cuba, in anticipation of the hostility of General O'Donnell, it is stated that the persons interested have so well established relations there, that there will be no difficulty in distributing 5,000 copies of the paper among the inhabitants of the island."

In all this, we perceive the same counsels and the same influences at work, which led to the annexation of Texas. Our statesmen will do well not to treat this subject with indifference.

HENRY CLAY ON THE MEXICAN WAR, ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND SLAVERY.

At a great mass meeting, held at Lexington, Kentucky, on the 13th of November, 1847, the celebrated Henry Clay delivered one of his great speeches. It would occupy too much of our space to give it at length, we must therefore content ourselves with such extracts as indicate his opinions, and, we presume, those of the great Whig body with which he acts.

MEXICAN WAR.

War, pestilence, and famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befall our species; and war, as the most direful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for wise, although inscrutable purposes, are inflictions of Providence, to which it is our duty, therefore, to bow with obedience, humble submission, and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction while they last, but society soon recovers from the effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out its duration is indefinite and unknown—its vicissitudes are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses, and in its burdens, it affects both belligerent nations, and its sad effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, endure long after its thunders are hushed in peace. War unhinges society, disturbs its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immorality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Dazzling by its glitter, pomp, and pageantry, it begets a spirit of wild adventure and romantic enterprise, and often disqualifies those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

We are informed by a statement, which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican war, although it has yet been of only eighteen months' existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the American loss during the seven years' war of the Revolution!—And, I venture to assert, that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come to be fairly ascertained and footed up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the war of our independence. And this is the condition of the party whose arms have been everywhere and constantly victorious!

How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not annexed Texas, we should have had no war. The people were told that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas into our Union, we took along with her the war existing between her and Mexico. And the Minister of Mexico formally announced to the Government at Washington, that his nation would consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partisans of annexation. They insisted we should have no war, and even imputed to those who foretold it sinister motives for their groundless prediction.

But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been, probably, averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe he ought to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and if a negotiation had been opened with Mexico, in a true spirit of amity and conciliation, war, possibly, might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, while Mr. Slidell was bending his way to Mexico, with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon, and to plant them, in a warlike attitude, opposite to Matamoras, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory, the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr. Slidell's mission. What else could have transpired but a conflict of arms?

Thus the war commenced, and the President, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was prepared to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted, falsely attributing the commencement of the war to the act of Mexico. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to divest the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say, that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or provoked me to vote for a bill, with a palpable falsehood stamped on its face. Almost idolizing truth, as I do, I never, never could have voted for that bill.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

The case of the Annexation of Texas to the United States is a recent and obvious one, which, if it were wrong, cannot now be repaired. Texas is now an integral part of our Union, with its own voluntary consent. Many of us opposed the Annexation with honest zeal and most

earnest exertions. But who would not think of perpetrating the folly of casting Texas out of the Confederacy and throwing her back on her own dependence, or into the arms of Mexico? Who would now seek to divorce her from this Union? The Creeks and Cherokee Indians were, by the most unexceptionable means, driven from their country, and transported beyond the Mississippi river. Their lands have been fairly purchased and occupied by inhabitants of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Who would now conceive the flagrant injustice of expelling those inhabitants and restoring the Indian country to the Cherokees and Creeks, under colour of repairing original injustice? During the War of our Revolution millions of paper money were issued by our ancestors as the only currency with which they could achieve our liberties and independence. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of families were stripped of their homes and their all, and brought to ruin, by giving credit to that spurious currency. Stern necessity has prevented the reparation of that great national injustice.

SLAVERY AND ITS ABOLITION.

Among the resolutions, which it is my intention to present to your consideration, at the conclusion of this address, one proposes in your behalf and mine, to disavow, in the most positive manner, any desire on our part to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of introducing slavery into it—I do not know that any citizen of the United States entertains such a wish. But such a motive has often been imputed to the slave states, and I, therefore, think it necessary to notice it on this occasion. My opinions on the subject of slavery are well known. They have the merit, if it be one, of consistency, uniformity, and long duration. I have ever regarded slavery as a great evil, a wrong, for the present, I fear, an irremediable wrong to the unfortunate victims. I should rejoice if not a single slave breathed the air or was within the limits of our country. But here they are, to be dealt with as well as we can, with a due consideration of all circumstances affecting the security, safety, and happiness of both races. Every state has the supreme, uncontrolled, and exclusive power to decide for itself whether slavery shall cease or continue within its limits, without any exterior intervention from any quarter. In states, where the slaves outnumber the whites, as is the case with several, the blacks could not be emancipated and invested with all the rights of freemen, without becoming the governing race in those states.

Collisions and conflicts, between the two races, would be inevitable, and, after shocking scenes of rapine and carnage, the extinction or expulsion of the blacks would certainly take place. In the State of Kentucky, nearly fifty years ago, I thought the proportion of slaves, in comparison with the whites, was so inconsiderable that we might safely adopt a system of gradual emancipation that would, ultimately, eradicate this evil in our state. That system was totally different from the immediate abolition of slavery, for which the party of the abolitionists of the present day contend. Whether they have intended or not, it is my calm and deliberate belief, that they have done incalculable mischief even to the very cause which they espoused, to say nothing of the discord which has been produced between different parts of the Union. According to the system we attempted near the close of the last century, all slaves in being were to remain such, but all who might be born subsequent to a specified day, were to become free at the age of twenty-eight, and during their service, were to be taught to read, write, and cypher. Thus, instead of being thrown upon the community ignorant and unprepared, as would be the case by immediate emancipation, they would have entered upon the possession of their freedom capable, in some degree, of enjoying it. After a hard struggle, the system was defeated, and I regret it extremely, for if it had then been adopted, our state would be now nearly rid of that reproach.

Since that epoch, a scheme of unmixed benevolence has sprung up, which, if it had existed at that time, would have obviated one of the greatest objections, which was made to gradual emancipation, which was the continuance of the emancipated slaves to abide among us. That scheme is the American Colonization Society. About twenty-eight years ago, a few individuals, myself among them, met together in the city of Washington, and laid the foundation of that Society. It has gone on amid extraordinary difficulties and trials, sustaining itself almost entirely by spontaneous contributions, from individual benevolence, without scarcely any aid from Government. The Colonies, planted under its auspices, are now well established communities. They have made successful war in repelling attacks and invasions by their barbarous and savage neighbours. They have made treaties, annexed territories to their dominion, and are blessed with a free representative government. I recently read a message, from one of their Governors to their Legislature, which, in point of composition, and in careful attention to the public affairs of their Republic, would compare advantageously with the Messages of the Governors of our own States. I am not very superstitious, but I do solemnly believe that these colonies are blest with the smiles of Providence, and, if we may dare attempt penetrating the veil by which He conceals His all-wise dispensations from mortal eyes, that He designs that Africa shall be the refuge and the home of the descendants of its sons and daughters, torn and dragged from their native land by lawless violence.

It is a philanthropic and consoling reflection that the moral and physical condition of the African race in the United States, even in a state of slavery, is far better than it would have been if their ancestors had never been brought from their native land. And if it should be the decree of the Great Ruler of the Universe that their descendants shall be made instruments in His hands in the establishment of civilization and the Christian religion throughout Africa, our regrets, on account of the original wrong, will be greatly mitigated.

It may be argued that, in admitting the injustice of slavery, I admit the necessity of an instantaneous reparation of that injustice. Unfortunately, however, it is not always safe, practicable, or possible, in the great movements of states and public affairs of nations, to remedy or repair the inflictions of previous injustice. In the inception of it, we may oppose and denounce it, by our most strenuous exertions; but, after its consummation, there is often no other alternative left us but to deplore its perpetration, and to acquiesce, as the only alternative, in its existence, as a less evil than the frightful consequence which might ensue from the vain endeavour to repair it. Slavery is one of those unfortunate instances. The evil of it was inflicted upon us by the parent country of Great Britain against all the entreaties and remonstrances of the colonies. And here it is among and amidst us, and we must dispose of it as best we can under all the circumstances which surround us. It continued, by the importation of slaves from Africa, in spite of colonial resistance, for a period of more than a century and a half, and it may require an equal or longer lapse of time before our country is entirely rid of the evil.

A series of Resolutions, embodying the opinions of Mr. Clay upon the Mexican War, and the power of the President, and of Congress in relation thereto, were adopted by the meeting. It is supposed that this Speech was made with a view to the next Presidential Election, and that it was intended to conciliate all sections of the Whig party. Mr. Clay, however, is too well known to be trusted by the honest portion of his own party, and, with all his present opposition to the Mexican War, there can be little doubt that if he had become, at the last election, President of the United States, he would have formed some colourable pretence for the Annexation of Texas, a thing so earnestly desired by the great body of the slave-holders in the South with which he is so intimately connected.

Whatever may be Mr. Clay's theoretical opinions on the subject of slavery, it must never be forgotten that he, above all other men in the United States, has done most for the extension of slavery on the American continent. Who was it that carried the famous Missouri Compromise as it is termed? It was Henry Clay. And we find, by tracking his political history, that on every occasion when it was proposed to limit the extension of slavery, Mr. Clay was against it. From early life he has been a slave-holder; he has added to his stock of human cattle, from time to time, a considerable number by purchase; and, when he has had more than he wanted, he has not scrupled to sell. He would make it appear that he is the friend of Africa, and of the coloured race in America, because he supports the Colonization Society. But has he ever given up a single slave of his own to send to Liberia? Not one! In his judgment he regards the Colonization Society as a means of draining off the black blood of the Southern states; and, in doing so, he exhibits most fully his intense hatred and contempt for the victims of oppression.

We have been told, recently, by the public papers, that Mr. Clay has become very religious, that he has been baptized, and is now a member, in full standing, with the Episcopal Church in his native state. We know the kind of religion prevalent among slave-holders,—that its emblems are the Bible in one hand, and the slave-whip in the other; but we must protest against this spurious form of Christianity, as alike an outrage on the nature of man, and dishonouring to his great Creator.

MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

From the summary of the *Mauritius Mail* for August last, which will be found to contain some important facts, we make the following extracts:—

"The planters of the United Districts have forwarded to his excellency for transmission an address to the Secretary of State, having for its object to defend the planters in the colony from the erroneous impression conveyed in a report of a stipendiary magistrate, as to the irregular payment of wages. The address asserts that the Indians are regularly paid; if any accidental delays in some rare cases have occurred, from the death of the proprietor, or from the rarity of the circulating medium, they have in the end invariably been fully paid. The severity of the law, in case of non-payment, is pointed out. As for the black population, it is said they would not have so generally abandoned agriculture, if wise and prudent measures had been taken at the emancipation. Far from being miserable, as is supposed, they are enabled to gain, in various ways, from 25s. to 60s. per month, with their food, enjoying many more comforts than the lower classes of Europe."

"In a material point of view," says the address, "the proprietors have been the only losers by the cessation of their connexion with the

ex-apprentice. With some few exceptions, our former apprentices easily find lucrative fields for employment, 'independently of agriculture.' Shops and different trades, as masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, &c., engage nearly 10,000 of them. The civil engineering department alone employs a good many; others serve as sailors in the coasters which convey to the town the produce of the rural districts, or have established fisheries on the sea-shores of the colony, and on the islets depending on it. Domestic service, in particular, occupies a large number. Gardening, peddling, the sale of firewood, vegetables, flowers, &c., are the resources of those who do not draw wherewithal to satisfy their wants from a little spot of ground, more or less cultivated, or from the neighbouring sea.....

"The want of hands," concludes this document, "whether of blacks or Indians, of which we complain, can, in nowise, be imputed to us, without injustice and malevolence. We do not shun the strictest investigation on this point, but, on the contrary, court it with warmest wishes. The governor has called the attention of the planters to the necessity of giving separate apartments to Indians who are married, or passing as such, to check the crime of murder of women through jealousy, lately of frequent occurrence among this population. We are not aware that married Indians live on estates in apartments with others, unless of their own free will, being generally provided with apartments separated."

The two leading commercial topics, our produce and exchange, have ceded in importance to that of the supply of food in our island. Much uneasiness prevailed at the beginning of the month, which was augmented by a circular of his excellency, recommending the planters to take steps to get supplies of rice from India. Timely arrivals have, however, dispelled the anxiety that was felt, and our stock will be well kept up. Our produce is backward this year, and the quantity will be less than last. Nothing can be said of its value as yet, no business worth noting having been transacted. There is no want of money, and specie continues to arrive, so that exchange operations are placed on a very different footing when compared with last year.

The half-yearly meeting of the shareholders and directors of the Mauritius bank took place on the 25th. The report presented by the directors showed a profit of only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital originally paid up.

Sugar.—The old crop is now brought to a close, the shipment per *Eleanor* completing it. There remains about 200 bags in store, which will be shipped and included with the new.

Quantity shipped to the end of July....	132,906,816
August 14th. <i>Ghika</i> , Cape	174,582
" 18th. <i>Eleanor</i> , London	310,684
<hr/>	
Total of the last crop	lbs. 133,392,082 .

Shipped from August 17th, 1846, to

August 31st, 1847.....

Leaving a balance over the previous crop of more than 31,000,000 lbs.

The crop ending August, 1846, was	102,168,168
" " 1845	78,165,106
" " 1844	59,545,885
" " 1843	50,660,449
" " 1842	85,197,837
" " 1841	77,174,253
" " 1840	64,886,184

The portion of each of these crops shipped to the United Kingdom, was as follows:—

Crop ending August, 1847	124,582,499
" " 1846	94,837,167
" " 1845	73,152,498
" " 1844	56,941,109
" " 1843	48,821,198
" " 1842	79,894,123
" " 1841	76,253,275
" " 1840	58,426,079

The new crop comes slowly to town, the weather not being favourable for drying, and the canes not yielding as they did last year. It is now more than probable that the observations we made in July will be confirmed.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—December 16.

BRAZIL.

Mr. THORNELY, (in the absence of Mr. W. Browne,) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether any, and what steps, had been taken since the arrival of the lately appointed English minister, at the Court of Rio de Janeiro, in the negociation of a new treaty of commerce between this country and the empire of Brazil; whether it was true, as had been publicly stated, that the Government of Brazil had

refused to enter on any such negotiation until the slave-trade act be repealed, which gives to British ships-of-war the power of seizing, and to British Courts of Vice-Admiralty the power of condemning (without the sanction or authority of any treaty with Brazil to that effect) Brazilian vessels engaged or suspected to be engaged in the slave-trade; and if so, whether Her Majesty's Government intended to adopt any, and what measures, for removing the objection which exists on the part of Brazil to the opening of negotiations for the renewal of our commercial relations with that empire?

Lord PALMERSTON said, that, in answer to the question of the hon. member, he had to state that Lord Howden had received instructions to enter into negotiations with the Government of Brazil for the purpose of concluding a commercial treaty, but that, up to the last accounts received, no such treaty had been effected, and that, in point of fact, no commencement had been made in that negotiation; no communication, therefore, could have been received from the Government of Brazil, of the nature to which the question of the hon. gentlemen referred. It was true, that the Government of Brazil, felt an objection to the act passed by Parliament two years ago, on the subject of the slave-trade; but the British Government had no intention of proposing the repeal of that act, unless the Government of Brazil should consent to a satisfactory treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, and would pursue the same course as that which had been pursued by the treaty with Portugal. If the Government of Brazil would consent to a similar treaty with Her Majesty's Government, which the English Government had made with Portugal on the subject of the slave-trade, then there would be no difficulty in proposing to the house to take the same steps in regard to the slave-trade act, bearing on Brazilian vessels, as the late Government and Parliament adopted with regard to the act relating to Portuguese vessels.

Mr. BAILEY asked the noble lord whether the Brazilian Government had ever observed the treaties which this country had entered into with it, respecting the slave-trade, and whether he expected any new treaties which this Government might enter into with that country would be better observed?

Lord PALMERSTON observed that facts were one thing and opinions another. The hon. gentleman was quite as cognizant of what had been the conduct of the Brazilian Government in regard to past treaties as he (Lord Palmerston) was. The hon. gentleman must be aware, that the late treaty with the Brazilian Government, was terminated by that Government in virtue of certain stipulations which were contained in a preceding treaty. The effect of the more recent treaty merely depended upon the Brazilian Government. But, undoubtedly, if the Brazilian Government should consent to a new treaty, giving to British cruisers a right of search, and recognizing the Mixed Commission, in the same manner as had been done by Portugal, Her Majesty's Government would consider that a sufficient reason why they should enter into a new treaty with the Government of Brazil.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—NOTICE OF MOTIONS.

Nov. 23, 1837.—SLAVE TRADE.—The several treaties contracted between the Crown of these realms and the Emperor of Brazil, and all subsequent conventions (if any) between the said powers, for the repression of the slave-trade, and the measures (if any) taken by the British Government in consequence, or under pretext thereof; specifying the number (if any) of Brazilian vessels captured by British vessels, and condemned under such pretext as aforesaid, and the dates of such captures and condemnations; and the protests of the Brazilian Government touching the same:—And also the Records of the trial, conviction, appeal, and discharge of Serva and others, in 1845 and 1846, accused of having murdered Mr. Palmer, a midshipman, and others, in Her Majesty's naval service, upon the high seas, who had been concerned in the capture of the Brazilian vessels the *Echo* and *Felicidade*, under the pretext of the said treaties and conventions. The treaties signed between his late Majesty George the Fourth and the King of Portugal for the repression of the slave-trade, and the measures (if any) taken by the British Government in consequence, or under pretext thereof. Complaints made by the French Government in respect of condemnation of French vessels, and the amount of compensation made. The instructions from time to time issued to officers in command of vessels of war in Her Majesty's service, respecting the visitation, search, detention, and capture of foreign vessels engaged, or suspected of being engaged, in the slave-trade. The several treaties signed in London between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas, and the measures (if any) taken by Her Majesty's Government to prevent the introduction of slavery and the slave-trade into the said Republic, and to secure to Her Majesty's subjects, having a lien upon lands in Texas, for the amount of their claims upon the Republic of Mexico, the enjoyment of their said lien, and the satisfaction of their said claims.—(Mr. Anstey.) **November 25, 1847.—MAURITIUS AND TRINIDAD.**—Copies of Earl Grey's Despatches to the Mauritius, respecting the formation of a Bank in that island in the present year. Of all the Despatches to and from the Mauritius respecting the state of that colony, since January, 1847. And, of all Despatches to and from the Governor of Trinidad, respecting the supply of labour, and the state of that colony, since Lord Harris's arrival in that island.—(Mr. Hume.) **SLAVE TRADE.**—Return of the number of ships of war belonging to England and France, and the number belonging to the United States of America, employed on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, agreeable to treaties with Great Britain, stating the number of ships of each class, and the number of men and of guns belonging to each, and the aggregate. And, copy of all the Reports or Despatches received from the officers commanding Her Majesty's ships of war

employed for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, since January, 1847, on the state of slavery and the slave-trade. Return of the number of slaves captured in each year since January, 1810, and for which the sum of £1,061,861 have been paid as bounty to captors from the public revenue, stating the number of these slaves landed alive, and how the same were disposed of. And, Copy of the Correspondence received by the British Government from the Commissioners at the Havana and Rio de Janeiro, since January, 1847, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade.—(Mr. Hume.) **November 26, 1847.—AFRICAN SQUADRON.**—Address, praying that Her Majesty will give directions, that negotiations be entered into with foreign powers for the purpose of relieving this country from the obligation of those treaties by which we are bound to maintain a squadron on the coast of Africa.—(Mr. Bailey.) **Dec. 3.—SLAVE VESSELS.**—Address for the "Return from the Vice-Admiralty and Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, of all sums that have arisen from the gross and net proceeds of slave vessels and cargoes condemned in the said Courts in each year, from the 1st day of January, 1840."—(Captain Pechell.) **Dec. 6.—Copies of the Laws, Ordinances, and Rules.** not hitherto printed, now in force in each of the West India Colonies for the regulation of labour between masters and labourers, and stating the dates of their being put in force."—(Mr. Hume.) **Dec. 10.—SLAVE LABOUR.**—Petition from Grenada for discontenancing slave-labour. **Dec. 14.—WITHDRAWAL OF CRUISERS.**—Address, praying that Her Majesty will give directions, that negotiations be entered into with Foreign Powers for the purpose of relieving this country from the obligation of those treaties by which we are bound to maintain a squadron upon the coast of Africa.—(Mr. Baillie.) **Dec. 16.—MEXICO.**—Correspondence, or Extracts of Correspondence, between the Foreign Office and the Government of the United States, or of Mexico, throwing light on the intention of the United States to annex any, and what portion, of the territory of the Republic of Mexico for the purpose, or with the effect, of re-establishing slavery therein.—(Colonel Thompson.) **Dec. 17.—Select Committee.** to inquire into the present condition and prospects of Her Majesty's East and West Indian Possessions, and the Mauritius, and of the planting interest connected therewith, with a view to their relief. (Lord George Bentinck.) In the event of the success of Lord George Bentinck's Motion, for the appointment of a Select Committee, "to inquire into the state of the West India Islands, and the Mauritius," to move, That this House will resolve itself into a Committee on the Sugar Duties Act of 1846. And to propose in the Committee a Resolution to the effect, that it is expedient that, pending such inquiry, the operation of such clauses of the Act of 1846 as relate to a descending scale of Duties on Foreign Sugar shall be suspended and held in abeyance, and that the amount of Duties now levied on Sugar shall be levied until Parliament shall have considered the Report of the Select Committee proposed to be appointed.—(Mr. Hope.)

Home Intelligence.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The anniversary meeting of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, was held at the new and commodious Corn Exchange, in that town, on Monday evening, the 20th ult., RICHARD T. CADBURY, Esq., in the chair. The attendance was numerous and respectable. Among others who occupied the platform we perceived George W. Alexander, Esq., and Mr. John Scoble, who attended as a deputation from the parent Society, of London; Joseph Sturge, Esq., William Morgan, Esq., Rev. Thomas Swan, the Rev. John Angell James, &c., &c.

The venerable chairman opened the proceedings by a short review of the past history of the anti-slavery cause; and, in view of the new circumstances which have arisen, urged the necessity of increased exertions to prevent the further extension of slavery and the slave-trade. The Report of the Society was read by Mr. Sturge. It contained an excellent digest of facts, indicating the rapid progress of anti-slavery feeling and action in the United States, and on the continent of Europe, particularly in relation to Denmark and Sweden; the former country having decided, first, that all children born of slave parents, after the 28th of July last, shall be free; and, secondly, that the remainder of the slave population shall be completely emancipated in twelve years from that time: and the latter country having definitively abolished slavery in St. Bartholomew, the only colony belonging to it. The latter part of the Report referred to the uselessness of the efforts hitherto made by the cruisers on the coast of Africa, to suppress the slave-trade, and the necessity of reverting to other and better means for the accomplishment of this object. It then pointed out clearly and forcibly the danger of the revival of a new form of slave-trading, by the proposed scheme of African emigration to the British Colonies; and called serious attention to the exceptional legislation now advocated, and, in some of the islands, actually embodied in ordinances, the design of which is, to coerce the labour, not only of the immigrants, but of the native labourers.

The adoption of the Report was moved by the REV. THOMAS SWANN, in a warm and energetic speech; and seconded by MR. WM. MORGAN. The second resolution, which indicated the progress of the anti-slavery cause in various parts of the world, was moved by MR. ALEXANDER, the Treasurer of the parent Society, in an address replete with interesting and encouraging facts and earnest arguments, and, after having been seconded by REV. JONATHAN HOPPER, was unanimously adopted. MR. SCOBLE was called upon to move the third resolution, which emphatically disapproved of the attempt to suppress the slave-trade by British cruisers, as alike unsound in principle, and impolitic in practice.

which also protested against the scheme of African emigration, as clearly assimilated to the trade in slaves; and which expressed the earnest hope that the Government will yet be induced to re-consider and abandon so highly objectionable a measure. To prove the inefficiency of the cruising system, for the suppression of the slave-trade, Mr. Scoble produced many facts from official records, among which he stated the following,—that notwithstanding the cruising system had been in force from the year 1817, it was reported by the British Consular, and other agents in Brazil, Cuba, and elsewhere, that from that year to the end of 1843, 2313 slavers had successfully landed their cargoes of human beings in slave countries. At the same time he gave it as his opinion that, at least, twice that number had, during the period referred to, been employed in the nefarious traffic, all of which, except about five or six hundred, had escaped capture. In relation to African emigration to the West Indies, Mr. Scoble expressed himself utterly opposed to it, on the ground that it was unjust to the native labourers, who were to be heavily taxed to find the funds necessary to carry on the operations,—that it would still farther increase the disparity of the sexes, which had been produced by previous schemes of immigration, and which had led to a dreadful amount of immorality,—that it would afford a pernicious example to foreign powers having slave-colonies or territories to supply them with, nominally free, but, in reality, slave-labourers, without violation of their treaties with this country,—that the Kroomen, whom it was intended to import into the colonies, were not free men, but in a state of vassalage to their chiefs, whose will was their law,—and that, on their arrival in the colonies, should they be imported, they would be subjected to a harsh system of laws which would leave them but the semblance of liberty. Mr. Scoble then refuted the plea that the West India body had suffered by emancipation. From documents which could not be refuted, he clearly proved that they were gainers by that great act of justice; and that their present embarrassments were to be attributed to the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets, which, by having reduced the prices of that commodity, had entailed heavy losses upon them; and what was still more to be deplored, had greatly stimulated the slave-trade, and aggravated the horrors of slavery. Mr. Scoble said, the doctrine of abolitionists should be, not protection for West India interests, but prohibition of slave produce, for the sake of the higher interests of humanity and freedom. In conclusion, he entreated his countrymen to earnest and persevering exertions in the cause of human liberty. The resolution was seconded by JOSIAH PUMPHREY, and cordially adopted. The fourth resolution was to the effect that, viewing the abolition of slavery as the only effectual means for the extinction of the slave-trade, and that the demand for slave-produce was the main cause of its support, it strongly recommended, as far as practicable, the disuse of slave-labour produce; and that, as it is of the utmost consequence to the cotton manufactures of this country that it should not depend on the slave states of America for its supplies, that vigorous efforts should be made to obtain the same from British India and other free countries. MR. STURGE moved this resolution, which was seconded by WILLIAM NUTTER, and unanimously adopted. The last resolution, which embraced a petition to Parliament against African emigration to the British Colonies, was moved, in an eloquent and effective speech, by the Rev. J. A. JAMES, who particularly dwelt on the demoralizing effects which must necessarily follow the introduction of hordes of barbarous Pagans—chiefly, if not exclusively, males—into the emancipated colonies, and trusted the measure would be defeated. The resolution was seconded by JAMES PEARSON, and unanimously adopted. After a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

The petition adopted was as follows:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

"The Petition of a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham, respectfully sheweth:

"That your petitioners have learned with deep regret that the Government has sanctioned a scheme of emigration from the coast of Africa to the British colonies, not only at variance with sound principles, but of dangerous consequence, inasmuch as it is intended to be carried on beyond the precincts of the British settlements on that coast, and, therefore, will be beyond the reach of British jurisdiction and control.

"That your petitioners also object to it, because, whilst it is intended to benefit one portion of the community only, namely the sugar planters, it is intended to tax the whole community in the colonies importing emigrants, for the purpose of raising the enormous funds alleged to be required to sustain this operation, although those colonies are already overborne by excessive taxation.

"That your petitioners further object to it, on the ground that, so far as one portion of the emigrants are concerned, that is, the Kroomen, it will be composed wholly of males, thereby increasing the great disparity of the sexes already existing in the said colonies, and which has been attended, unhappily, with the most demoralizing results, as well as with a fearful mortality.

"That, considering the circumstances of the Kroomen, that they are

in bondage to their chiefs, and have, in fact, no freedom of choice;—that, by whatever name this emigration may be disguised, it cannot fail to degenerate into a new form of slave-trading, and that its prosecution, under the sanction of this country, will afford a pernicious example to foreign countries having slave colonies or territories, to supply them with—nominally free, but, in reality, slave-labourers;—your petitioners intreat your Honourable House, to refuse its sanction to any measure intended to give validity to the present scheme of African emigration, or to any other scheme which is not based on the principles of justice, humanity, and freedom, and which does not protect the emigrants, when in the colonies, in the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

"Signed, on behalf of the Meeting,

"RICHARD T. CADBURY, Chairman."

On the following morning, Mr. George W. Alexander, and Mr. Scoble met the Ladies' Association, at the Friends' Meeting House, where the subject of the disuse of slave-labour produce was fully gone into, and strongly recommended. Many interesting facts were laid before the meeting relative to the production of free-labour cotton in the United States, which, it is believed, may be had in increasing quantities, as the demand springs up. Some friends of the anti-slavery cause in America are giving great attention to this subject, and are persuaded that it will be found one of the most efficient means for overthrowing the slave-system there. A Free-labour Association exists at Philadelphia, which is effecting much good. In this country it appears the subject is growing in interest. At Newcastle, Mr. H. Richardson is devoting great attention to the subject; and it is earnestly to be desired that a corresponding feeling should be created throughout the entire population of Great Britain.

EAST INDIA HOUSE.

A quarterly general court of proprietors took place on the 22nd of December ult. The Chairman of the Company, Mr. H. St. George Tucker, presided:—

SUGAR DUTIES AND THE SLAVE TRADE.—MR. ARBUTHNOT rose for the purpose of asking a question (having received permission from Mr. Poynder, whose notice of motion stood first on the precis of the day) as to whether a memorial sent to the court of directors by the East India and China Trade Association, for a change in the sugar duties in favour of the growth of India, had been forwarded to Government? The great alterations that had been made in the sugar duties were not only ruining the East India but the West India planters. And, further, a direct tendency had been given to the increase of the slave-trade. That trade had in fact recently very considerably increased. The hon. proprietor was about to proceed in an argument upon the point, but he was called to order by Mr. Poynder, who suggested that a question was only to be put. (Hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said the hon. proprietor was certainly out of order in the attempt to make any remarks upon the subject referred to. He could assure the hon. proprietor and the court that the memorial referred to had been received by the court of directors, and that it had been forwarded to the Board of Control for the Affairs of India, with the strongest expressions of a confident hope of the court that the prayer should receive the most earnest attention, and that the points urged might be acceded to. (Hear.)

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—VIRGINIA DESTINED TO BE FREE.—The *Norfolk Herald*, alluding to a statement in the *Parkersburg (West Virginia) Gazette*, that large numbers of citizens of the Old Dominion are leaving her territory for the Far West, says,—

"Now, in this there is nothing that should cause regret in Virginia. Let those who are lured by the prospect of gain, or who really believe that they can better their condition by emigrating to the new States, follow their bent—and take their slaves along with them! The vacuum may cause a momentary weakness, but it will be only to recruit with two-fold vigour. The place of every slave, will, in time, be filled by hardy, industrious, tax-paying freemen, of the right stuff to people a free State, WHICH VIRGINIA IS DESTINED TO BE, ONE OF THESE DAYS, and the sooner (consistently with reason) the better for her own good."

The *Weekly Herald*, of Wellsburg, Virginia, has opened its columns to the discussion of Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE MAIN CONFERENCE.—The Committee on Slavery beg leave to present the following report:—

1. *Resolved*, That American slavery stands opposed to every principle of the Gospel of Christ, and to the constitution of our church; and that we cannot faithfully proclaim the gospel message, or be consistent members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, without maintaining a decided opposition, both in principle and in practice, to every feature of the system.

2. Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to the next General Conference not to approve of any legislation of that body in relation to slavery, except for its extirpation.

3. Resolved, That while we are not tenacious of a name, being equally satisfied to be called Abolitionists or Anti-slavery men, we regard with no favour any attempt to flatter the unreasonable prejudices of the Southern Church, by abandoning either of these terms for a less expressive one.

4. Resolved, That members of our church, who hold and treat human beings as property, should be dealt with as for other gross immoralities.

5. Resolved, That we re-affirm the sentiments of the report of last year, and that we declare it to be our purpose to take no retrograde steps in so important a subject.

6. Resolved, That, as the proposition which originated in the Erie Conference, contemplating an alteration in our general rule on slavery, is exceptionable in phraseology, and, as it appears to us, seriously detracts from the thorough Anti-slavery character of our ecclesiastical constitution, we, therefore, cannot adopt it.

7. Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Conference, the General Conference of 1844 had no constitutional warrant for adopting the plan of separation, as it is called; and, therefore, that said plan now is, and ever has been, void of all ecclesiastical authority.

8. Resolved, That the plan of separation being unconstitutional, and the separation of the South from the North being, therefore, a secession, it is the opinion of this Conference that there should be no division of the church property between them and us.

9. Resolved, That, in view of this, their ecclesiastical relation to us, their peculiar notions of Methodist Episcopacy; and their claim that slavery, as it exists among them, is a Divine institution, we recommend to our delegates elect, not to consent to the establishment of any fraternal relations with them for the present.

A. F. BERNARD, Chairman.

Hallowell, September 9th, 1847.

COAST OF AFRICA.—THE SLAVE TRADE—A NEW REPUBLIC.—Letters have been received, says the *Union*, at the Navy department, by the United States brig *Dolphin*, which has just arrived at Porto Praya (Cape de Verd Islands.) They announce one fact, which is of some importance in relation to the movements of the "Republic of Liberia." The following are Extracts:—

Extract of a Letter from Lieut. Commanding Bell, to Com. Read, U.S. brig Boxer, Porto Praya. Oct. 5.

"On my arrival at Monrovia, on the 16th ultimo, I found that the colony of Liberia had proclaimed itself an independent nation, under the name of the Republic of Liberia. I enclose a copy of a letter which Governor Roberts addressed to me, to apprise me of the new dignity of his Government, enclosing a printed copy of the declaration of their independence."

In a letter from the same, same date and port, Lieutenant Command. Bell gives some account of his cruise. He had overhauled an American brig (the *J. W. Huntington*) on the night of the 31st August, owned in New York, from Rio Janeiro, with the usual assorted slave cargo on board, and lumber enough for a slave deck. He was informed, also, that the *Malaga* had precisely such a cargo, excepting the lumber. The American brig *Senator*, boarded in March last, was out from Rio with such a cargo, and similarly chartered. The master of the *J. W. Huntington* reports that she (the *Senator*) now lies scuttled in Rio. Having safely landed 500 slaves at Cape Frio, she proceeded to Rio under Brazilian colours, where her owners were suffered to strip her of all her furniture, and then the government seized her as a no document vessel—the American crew having left her at Loango, where the slaves were taken on board.

"In these transactions (says Lieut. Commanding Bell) you perceive the mode in which the American flag covers and promotes a trade which no other flag can, and the base uses to which it is applied by foreigners, who have not the manliness to vindicate the freedom of their own."

"The American factory at this place is the principal trading establishment under the American flag on the Southern coast; there being branches of it, at Ambizetto and at Loango, owned by Messrs. Boorhows and Hunt, Salem, (Mass.) who are said to be doing a fair business in gums, ivory, copper, and ebony; that house sends out from six to eight vessels annually. From the same source I understand that upwards of thirty American vessels annually come freighted from Brazil by Brazilians to the south coast; some of them, as is well known, taking a return cargo of slaves under Brazilian colours, their American crews first leaving them. But the most of them are believed to leave the coast carrying white passengers only."

This is a shameful traffic, and ought, if possible, to be arrested. Will not the Republic of Liberia be one of the most important agents for effecting this object at some future, though it may be distant time?

We have the constitution of this new Republic before us. It fills more than seven columns of a printed sheet. It opens with a rapid historical sketch of the establishment and the prosperity of the colony, which concludes with the following appeal:—

"Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion—in name of the great God, our common creator, and our common judge—we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The *Jamaica Times* publishes a table of the exports from that island, from the 10th October, 1846, to the 10th October, 1847. It shows that the crop of sugar this year is almost identical in extent with that of 1845, estimated at 45,000 hogsheads. This, it may be remarked, is the largest crop since 1842, when the quantity exported, including tierces and barrels, amounted to upwards of 50,000 hogsheads. In coffee, there has been a gradual increase during the last three years, but the crop of that article is still a million of lbs. less than in 1843. As might have been expected, the proportion of rum exhibits also a considerable increase over preceding years.

COOLIE IDOLATRY.—The *Cornwall Chronicle* gives the following account of a proposed idolatrous Coolie procession, similar in character to the one which we had occasion to notice some time ago, as having occurred in Berbice:—"The magistrates having been apprised yesterday that it was the intention of the Coolies belonging to some properties nigh this town, to celebrate some religious festival by procession through the streets of the town, a special session of the peace was immediately called, and held at the court-house, at two o'clock, which was numerously attended. We are glad to learn that the magistrates, one and all, have set their faces against the proceeding; and one of the magistrates, interested in the properties to which they belong, undertook to intimate the same to these people, and at the same time to advise them to confine their orgies to the properties upon which they are located. We trust the same restrictions will be quite as applicable to the Christmas holidays."

THE LABOUR QUESTION.—We learn from late Barbadoes papers that a general move towards reducing the wages of agricultural labourers in that island has been made, and that where this has not been effected a greater quantity of work is exacted for the old rate of pay.

How different this is from the result of a similar movement in this island, where, in St. Mary, as we are informed, the attempt has been made with the most dogged determination of the labourers to accept nothing short of former rates; the consequence of which is, that independent of little or no plants having been put in during the late seasonable weather, the young sprouts are already being choked with weeds, to the very serious injury of the coming crop, even should the labourers at the eleventh hour be aroused to a true sense of their interests. From all we hear, it is doubtful whether Jamaica, next year, will export as much sugar as Barbadoes; and if this crop is only to be kept up by extravagant wages, it will be better for the planters to rest upon their oars for a season.—*Jamaica Times*, Nov. 4.

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—In answer to the application that Jamaica should be allowed to participate in the Government scheme of Immigration, the Colonial Secretary remarks:—

"It is to be borne in mind, the whole scheme is at present experimental. It is very uncertain whether it will be possible to procure complements of emigrants from the Kroo coast for the steamer about to be employed, whilst any failure, in this respect, would entail a heavy loss. It would, therefore, be inexpedient to employ more than a single steamer in the first instance. If, however, the measure should prove successful, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to extend its operations to Jamaica, should such be the wish of the legislature. This island will, therefore, under the present arrangement, reap its full share of the benefit of this experiment, if it should succeed; and, on the other hand, it incurs no risk of loss in the event of failure."—*Cornwall Courier*, Nov. 9.

BRITISH GUIANA.—**COOLIE IMMIGRATION.**—From an official list which we publish this evening, it will be seen that the large number of fourteen spacious vessels for Coolie immigrants has been engaged for this colony during the season, and are appointed to sail between the 1st of December, 1847, and the 1st of February, 1848. Hence it may be safely assumed, that Coolie immigration is by no means at an end in British Guiana, whatever may be the case in Jamaica and Trinidad. From the tonnage of the vessels chartered, we may also arrive at the conclusion, that not less than from 4 to 5,000 more of these people will be shipped in the ensuing season to this colony at the public expense. For how many more years Coolie immigration on a large scale will be carried on remains to be seen. At present, at least, there is no indication of any abatement either in the vigour or the magnitude of this movement.

Our opinions upon this subject we have already had frequent occasion to express. Nothing that has occurred of late has in any way tended to alter them. We are still of the same way of thinking as ever, that until we can procure Africans, with sufficient certainty, and to sufficient extent

from the Government, imported labourers from some source or other we must annually have to the number of several thousands, for the purpose of keeping up the cultivation of the staples throughout the colony. Now, the practical question, therefore is, from what other source can we gratify this essential desideratum, except the East Indies? What other tropical immigrants, besides Coolies, can we, in point of fact, get, and get with regularity? We should be glad to hear some sound answer to this important question. Until it be satisfactorily answered by the Acts of the Home Government, we must, we apprehend, be content to go on with the old plan of Coolie immigration, in spite of all the discredit which our neighbours in the island have thrown on this scheme.—*Royal Gazette, November 4th.*

June, 1847.—Schedule of Ships taken up for the conveyance of Indian Emigrants to British Guiana.

Name of Ship.	Classed at Lloyd's.	No. of Tons.	Price per Statute Adult	No. of People it is estimated she can carry.		Whether to sail from Calcutta or Madras.
				1 to 12 feet.	1 to 2 Tons.	
1 *Bellairs.....	A 1.	609 N.	£ 15 15 0	317½	304½	Calcutta.
2 Aurora	A 1.	536 N.	15 0 0	238½	217½	Calcutta.
3 *Winifred	A 1.	501 O.	15 12 6	261	250½	Calcutta.
4 *Orestes	A 1.	529 O.	15 10 0	266½	264½	Madras.
5 *Emerald Isle..	A 1.	501 O.	14 18 0	247	250½	Madras.
6 *Candahar	A 1.	612 N.	15 10 0	259	321	Madras.
7 Tamerlane	A 1.	427 O.	13 19 6	226½	213½	Calcutta.
8 *Lord Hunger-						
ford	+Æ 1.	736 O.	15 15 0	332	368	Madras.
9 Bengal Merch't.	+Æ 1.	503	13 18 6	251½	251½	Madras.
10 *Macedon	A 1.	528 N.	14 18 9	220	264	Madras.
11 *Sophia	+Æ 1.	636 N.	14 3 0	270½	268½	Calcutta.
12 Morley	+Æ 1.	578 N.	12 19 0	259½	389	Madras.
13 *Apoline	A 1.	440 O.	14 18 9	230	256	Madras.
14 *Duchs. of Nor-						
thumberland.	A 1.	545 O.	14 10 6	258½	270½	Calcutta.

N.B.—The vessels to which this * is prefixed are destined for Demerara, the rest for Berbice.

IMMIGRATION.—From the Receiver-General's account handed to the Court of Policy, on the 26th ult., it was stated, "that \$5,000 was payable for Portuguese Bounty Money last month; that \$36,241 had been paid into the Commissariat department since January last, on account of Coolie Immigration; that including the latter sum, and the expenses of the Growler, the vote of \$100,000 for immigration purposes, made by the Combined Court, for this year, had been surpassed to the extent of thirty-one thousand and eighty-five dollars!" Consider this beginning, and, what shall be the end!

The enormous products of the unjust and oppressive license tax has all been swallowed up. In the face of all this, a "Planter," in last night's *Gazette*, suggests that no other alternative remains for our present maladies, but "unlimited immigration from Africa."

Many of our readers may not be aware that immigration from India is still being carried on to this Colony, at an awfully extravagant rate. Fourteen ships have been freighted, namely, six to Calcutta, and eight to Madras; which are to be ready in India, for the reception of passengers, between the month's of December, 1847, and February, 1848. Still not yet satisfied. Immigration still. Immigration and no funds! and Mr. Rose says, no credit neither! Who are they that are ruining the Colony now?—*Cong. Record, Nov. 12th.*

TOBAGO.—The *Chronicle* reports the actual number of ascertained deaths by the late hurricane at twenty-eight, "and several have since died, in consequence of injuries then received. We fear," it adds, "if all were known, that little short of forty lives have been lost."

The Legislature had got up their petition to the Queen, praying for relief in the matter of the late hurricane, the loss by which is stated at "no less than from £100,000 to £150,000 sterling." And they "greatly fear," they say, "the proprietors and mortgagees in Great Britain will be deterred from re-establishing their estates, and supplying the means of carrying on the cultivation of the staples."

A joint petition has also been got up by the two houses to the Imperial Parliament, complaining of "the concessions which have been made to foreign and slave-grown, over that of the free-grown sugars of the British West India Colonies," their inability "to maintain the ruinous struggle to which they are in consequence subjected," and asking for "greater facilities for immigration," a reduction of duties on their produce, and "reasonable protection against foreign and slave-grown sugars in the British markets;" and by way of appendix, attention is called "to the laws restricting the refining of sugars in the West Indies."

ST. LUCIA.—STATE OF THE COLONY.—Nothing can be more deplorable than the reports we receive from the different districts of the island. Everywhere the working of the estates is suspended, or carried on upon the most limited scale; giving employment to only a few of the peasantry, who occupy the houses and land of the proprietor.

The magnitude of the evils which beset the unfortunate planter have

paralyzed all his energies. Last year, when he entered on the operation of reaping his canes, and the manufacture of his sugar, he was cheered on by the prospect of an abundant harvest, and the expectation of remunerative prices. How those hopes and expectations have been blighted and disappointed, is shewn by the innumerable petitions and remonstrances now traversing the Atlantic, to be deposited at the foot of the throne, and to load the tables of the Houses of Parliament. What now is the position of the St. Lucia planter? The large crop shipped to his agent in England has been only partly disposed of, at prices that do not cover the cost of production. The remainder is totally unsaleable, displaced in the market by the slave-produced sugar of Cuba, and the bills drawn against them are returned protested. Thus, with his credit ruined, without money to pay his labourers, and again a victim of an unfavourable season, he sees before him his stunted canes, that, under the most favourable circumstances, cannot produce half the last year's crop; and then, as if to fling him still deeper into the "slough of despond," a local legislature, in which he has no voice to make himself heard, now arbitrarily exacts from him contributions, exceeding all previous demands made for the public service.

That this is a true picture of our position, must be the intimate conviction of every man in the colony. But to suggest a remedy, or even to predict a plausible solution of these complicated difficulties, is beyond our powers. Time alone can solve the problem.—*St. Lucia M.S. Press, Nov. 25.*

Alas for the sugar planter of St. Lucia! says the *Palladium*, ruin and desperation are at his door. His last year's crop either remaining unsold, or sacrificed for less than the cost of production, he now finds himself, from the consequent want of money, incapable of proceeding with the cultivation of his canes for the time coming. As a last effort to withstand, if possible, the ruinous blow thus dealt by the British upholders of foreign slavery, an attempt was recently made on some of the properties in this island so to modify the rate of wages as to keep things in somewhat of practicable order, but the effect of this has been only to create a bad feeling on the part of the labourers, leading to the total abandonment by them of estates labour, to embrace that life of idle ease and independence, which, in the island especially, nature holds out to them. Where all this will end, it is not hard to foresee, unless the loud and general cry of the colonies be heeded, and quickly attended to by the mother country, even at this eleventh hour.

DANISH COLONIES.—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—We copy from the *St. Croix Avis* of the 20th inst., an account of the ceremonies which took place on that island, in celebration of the natal day of our Most Gracious Majesty on the 18th,—a day which will be rendered ever memorable in the history of the Danish West Indies. At the levee, held at Government House, His Excellency, Governor General P. Von Scholten, promulgated His Most Gracious Majesty's rescript of 28th July, (this year,) by which, after the period of twelve years from that date, all the unfree in His Majesty's West India possessions, are to be emancipated from the thralldom of slavery, and elevated to the rank of subjects. All the children that have been born since that date, or shall be hereafter born during the preparatory term, are to be free; and this we consider the most humane and considerate feature of this gracious boon to the aforesaid class, and a noble and worthy tribute to the glorious and merciful shrines of justice and humanity; for in these days of enlightenment and progress, when the education and improvement of the rising generation, occupy the attention, not only of the Government, but the people; all children so born, will be brought up and qualified for the responsible state of freedom, and become, we hope hereafter, under *Divine Providence*, worthy and industrious members of society, and loyal and dutiful subjects of our Most Gracious Sovereign. As a matter of justice to the proprietors, the adult unfree on whom the cultivation depends, are to serve their owners for the period stated; not only to enable the former to prepare for so great a change, but also train the latter for the new position they are to assume in society, the necessity of which preparation has been amply demonstrated by the consequences of the precipitate measures which were a few years since adopted in the British West India Islands.

It would be too much to expect that this organic change will please every body, but we take the liberty of remarking, that this is but the first step taken in these colonies, to accomplish the liberation of the unfree. The details of the plan, to make it work beneficially to all parties are not yet made known, but we are confident, that guided by experience from time to time as its practical working is developed, our Government will issue such regulations as may conduce to the best interests of the proprietors, and the improvement of the moral and physical condition of the unfree, in order to render them ultimately worthy of freedom. Many very material points have yet to be discussed and provided for, such as provision for the aged, the infirm, and infants, &c., &c.; but, we cannot for a moment permit ourselves to doubt, that the same philanthropic and noble spirit, which prompted our Most Gracious Majesty to make this invaluable concession to the spirit of the age, will animate and guide the councils of those to whom he has graciously

been pleased to entrust the carrying through, and perfecting of this good and Christian work.

If brevity be the soul of wit, as declared by an eminent writer, so is it the essence of reason in announcing and commenting on so momentous a measure at its present stage; but we trust to be spared to witness and record its consummation, and with never tiring efforts shall we devote our pen to the gratifying theme, and aid to the best of our poor abilities the holy cause.—*St. Thomas Tidende*, Sept. 25.

Miscellanea.

PORtUGUESE AFRICA.—Nothing but the immense importance of the subject, which has engaged our attention for the last few weeks, would justify us in again offering to our readers some remarks on the present state of Portuguese Africa. Nothing but the overpowering claims of humanity and philanthropy, which entitle us to be instant in season and out of season, would warrant us in hoping that these words of ours may meet the eyes, and sink into the hearts of readers, more august and illustrious than those who generally peruse these papers.

We have already offered to our readers, in former papers, some reflections on the history of Portugal, and on the fall of that now unhappy country from the high position which she formerly occupied among the nations of Europe, to her present melancholy situation. After the loss of the Brazilian empire, Portugal appears to have lost all interest in her foreign possessions; and though she has retained nominal possession of vast tracts of territory in Africa, she has performed few of the duties, and exercised few of the rights, which connect a colony with its mother country.

We have further shown on what detestable resources Portuguese Africa, thus deserted, has relied for subsistence; and how the means adopted for the suppression of the slave trade have proved ineffectual. Yet, where humanity worked with the arms of peace, the effect has been most striking. The labours of the Philanthropic Society, established in this colony in 1828, were crowned with unexampled success, and immediately preceded the introduction into Parliament of a bill for the total abolition of slavery in *all* the British colonies. The following remarks, which appeared in our paper of 1st November, 1844, appear so apposite to present circumstances, that we need scarcely apologise for repeating them here:—

"It was on the 24th of July (1828), that this Society was established, and on the 28th of August (1833), that the bill for the abolition of slavery received the royal sanction,—days which will for ever stand recorded in the annals of Africa, and from which the introduction of liberty among the African race, with all its glorious advantages and cheering prospects, may be fairly dated."

But these fond hopes were not destined to be gratified, and slavery was exterminated from the British colonies only to flourish more vigorously in Portuguese Africa and the Brazils.

Now, then, for those who love their species, and who honour their Creator there is work yet to do. Let the Philanthropic Society be formed again, and let its objects be the delivery of Portuguese Africa from the curse of slavery. Formed for the same objects, animated by the same motives, fighting in the same cause, its efforts will be crowned with the same success as heretofore. Its voice shall be heard at the foot of the thrones of England and of Portugal: and our sovereign, whose aid was so lately lent for the pacification of Portugal, shall receive in return the aid of the Portuguese Queen in the abolition of slavery, and the suppression of the slave trade.

The means which may most effectually be used under this august patronage, for effecting the great and glorious object which we have in view, appear to be those suggested in one of our former papers, viz.:—the formation of a South African *Zollverein*, or Union of Customs, under the administration of the executive officers of this port, in connexion with such Portuguese Commissioners as Her Majesty Donna Maria may be pleased to appoint. Of this we may at least be sure, that religion and commerce are more likely to succeed in suppressing slavery than the musket, the bayonet, or the sword.—*Cape of Good Hope and Port Natal Gazette*, Oct. 8.

AFRICA.—WEST COAST.—ASCENSION.—The *Nautilus*, transport, arrived on Friday at Portsmouth, from the Falkland Islands and Ascension; the latter place she left on the 6th of November. The island had been peculiarly healthy of late; there was abundance of water, and the amount of cultivated land had been on the increase. The squadron, (with the exception of the *Siren*, which had lost Lieut. Probart and nine men at the Bahama Islands,) had been very healthy. The slave-trade is carried on with increased vigour by the slave agents; fifty vessels have been taken during the last twelve months. None but the best sailing craft should be sent on the station, as frequently the slavers get away by superior

sailing—three steam slave vessels having escaped with full cargoes from the southern part of the station in September. The Falklands were in the greatest state of distress in August, when the *Nautilus* left. She lay at the islands three weeks before she could get a bullock. All the improvements contemplated for giving a character and employment to the place were stopped, the Government not having hands, or anything for them. The islands, in short, were in a fair way of being deserted.—Letters dated Oct. 10, have been received from the *Styx* steam sloop, Commander Chads, cruising on the coast of Africa. She had been again successful in capturing three more slave vessels, which had been sent into port. In the course of her second cruise she had made five prizes on the south part of the coast. The crew were in good health. It is expected the *Styx* will be home early in the spring. The slave vessel *Sappho*, captured by the *Contest*, twelve; Commander M'Murdo, in charge of Lieut. Towsey; the slaver *Silversea*, captured by the *Penelope* steam frigate, in charge of Lieut. Haswell, of that vessel; and the slave ship *Venus*, captured by the *Styx* steam sloop, Commander Chads, arrived at St. Helena, the first on the 23rd Oct., and the latter on the following day. The Marseilles *Semaphore*, has an article respecting the state of the French factories at Assiner and Great Bassam, in which the disorganized state of those settlements is contrasted with the prosperity of the English ones. At Great Bassam, it appears that Europeans are unable to venture abroad from the block-houses without being exposed to be shot by the blacks. And if complaints are made, the commander of the place says, that they are mere calumnies against the negroes. Yet, says the *Semaphore*, the block-house contains sixty soldiers, who would dispose, in half-an-hour, of the whole forces of the King of Quaggua, whose capital is situated only four leagues distant from the block-house on the river of Great Bassam.

The *Growler* steamer, Commander Potbury, had sailed on the 13th, with the second party of free labourers and their families from Sierra Leone for Trinidad.

SLAVE TRADE.—Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 25th November, 1847. Estimate of the expense of Her Majesty's Ships of War employed for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and of all their appointments, so as to exhibit the aggregate charge to the country for their support, in the year 1846—47. Estimate of the expense of the Wages and Victuals of the Crews of Her Majesty's Ships of War employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade in 1846—47, £220,233. Estimate of the expense of Wear and Tear of the hulls, masts, yards, rigging, and stores supplied for the use of Her Majesty's Ships employed in the above service, according to the statement received from the Surveyor's department, £49,313. Estimate of the Expense of the Wear and Tear of the machinery of Her Majesty's Steam Vessels employed as above, according to the statement received from the department of the Comptroller of Steam Machinery, £17,790. Estimate of the value of Coals provided for the use of the above Steam Vessels, according to the statement received from the Storekeeper-General's department, £14,287. Aggregate Charge £301,623.

Admiralty, Dec. 13th, 1847.

This return only gives a one-sided view of the Expenses of the African Squadron, inasmuch as the cost of the Mixed Commission Courts, sums paid as Prize-money, and other incidental expenses are wholly omitted. The aggregate cost of the Squadron is little short of a Million sterling per annum!

The *Havre Journal* announces the arrival of a ship from the Island of Bourbon, bringing accounts to the 16th of September. Some serious disturbances had occurred at St. Denis, the capital of the colony, on the arrival of the apostolic prefect and vice-prefect, the Abbés Poncelot and Monnet. It appears, that as soon as these clergymen disembarked, a crowd of the white inhabitants gathered before the house which they occupied, hooting and throwing stones. In the absence of the Governor, the officer in command of the garrison called out the troops, and dispersed the mob. This created a great agitation. The following day, there was another assemblage of the people, when a collision took place with the troops, and several lives were lost on both sides. The blacks threatened to rise in favour of the clergymen, whose sin was, that they were known to be favourable to the abolition of slavery, and the greatest fears were felt of a general outbreak. Fortunately, however, the governor, M. Graeb, arrived in time to prevent further evils. He immediately issued a proclamation, exhorting the inhabitants to tranquillity, and sent M. Monnet, who was the principal object of hatred, on board the ship by which he arrived. On the 15th, the agitation was partly calmed, but there was still some fears of a further outbreak.—*Morning Chronicle*, December 14th, 1847.

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